THE ART BULLETIN

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

VOL. XVI NO. 2 JUNE 1934

CONTENTS

PAGE

Giuliano da Sangallo and Andrea Sansovino 107

BY ULRICH MIDDELDORF

The Journey of Ferrer Bassa 116

BY GEORGIANA GODDARD KING

Michelangelo's Biblioteca Laurenziana 123

BY R. WITTKOWER

Reviews 219

PUBLISHED BY

THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

EDITOR: JOHN SHAPLEY

EDITORIAL BOARD

ALFRED M. BROOKS
WALTER W. S. COOK
WILLIAM B. DINSMOOR
WILLIAM M. IVINS, JR.
DAVID M. ROBINSON, CHAIRMAN
FISKE KIMBALL
FRANK J. MATHER, JR.
CHARLES R. MOREY
JOHN PICKARD
JOSEPH PIJOAN
PAUL J. SACHS

THE ART BULLETIN

SUSTAINING INSTITUTIONS

FRICK ART REFERENCE LIBRARY
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA
PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CONTRIBUTING INSTITUTIONS

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
SMITH COLLEGE
SWARTHMORE COLLEGE
WELLESLEY COLLEGE

FIG. 1

FIG. 2

FIG. 3

FIG. 4

Poggio a Caiano, Medici Villa: Glazed Terracotta Frieze in the Vestibule

GIULIANO DA SANGALLO AND ANDREA SANSOVINO

By ULRICH MIDDELDORF[1]

THE articles of Botto[2] on the architectural history of S. Spirito, Florence, have yielded a welcome by-product. They throw a new light on the hitherto obscure activity of Giuliano da Sangallo as a sculptor. It had never been possible to arrive at any kind of agreement regarding the relations of the series of mainly decorative sculptures that had been ascribed to this artist from time to time. No wonder! For while there was a loose community of style running through the series they where obviously of different craftsmanship. Hence the temptation and justification of distributing the group among a number of artists spiritually akin: Bertoldo was made responsible for the Sassetti tombs in S. Spirito; Andrea Sansovino was through the uncritical acceptance of a statement by Vasari made answerable for the decoration of the sacristy and its vestibule in S. Spirito.

The documents published by Fabriczy[3] and by Botto show the share of Andrea Sansovino in building the sacristy of S. Spirito to have been very slight and in the somewhat later building of its vestibule to have been practically nil, while Giuliano Sangallo's participation was in both cases a determining factor in the plans. Sangallo's designs account for the whole of the sacristy apart from the dome. He designed the vault of the vestibule, coöperating in this case with Cronaca, which probably means that Cronaca, who had already evolved the arrangement of the supporting columns, was more occupied with the structural and Sangallo with the ornamental aspects. Vasari's notion of Sansovino's far-reaching participation has to be dismissed as erroneous.[4] Andrea Sansovino is mentioned only once in the documents bearing on the erection of the sacristy: he received in 1490 a payment of forty-two lire and ten soldi.[5] What service he may have performed escapes us. All the way from the pavement to the crowning cornice were endless opportunities for the sculptor and stone-cutter. One thing seems sufficiently certain, namely that Sansovino had no hand in the capitals. Stechow's[6] attempt to confirm Vasari's statement by attributing two capitals to Sansovino has to be abandoned. For on this point the documents given by Botto are specific: thirty-eight of the forty capitals were carved by a certain Gio-

1. This article was undertaken in homage to Professor Adolph Goldschmidt, Berlin, and at one time intended for his forthcoming *Festschrift*, in which, however, another article, written before this one for that purpose, is now scheduled to appear.

2. *Rivista d'arte*, XIII, 1931, pp. 477 ff. and XIV, 1932, pp. 23 ff. This article is concerned only with the second part, to which the citations that follow all refer.

3. *Jahrb. d. K. Preuss. Kunsts.*, XXIII, 1902, Beiheft, pp. 1 ff. Illustrations of the works discussed appear in Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, VIII, I, 1923, pp. 430 ff., 443 ff, and in Stegmann and Geymüller, *Architektur der Renaissance in Toscana*, IV, V.

4. Vasari, Milanesi ed. IV, 1879, p. 511. It would be convenient if we could explain Vasari's mistake as a result of the similar names Sangallo and Sansovino. But the artists were for Vasari simply Giuliano and Andrea; names indicating origin were used in addition only in cases of need.

5. Fabriczy, in *Jahrb. d. K. Preuss. Kunsts.*, XXVII, 1906, p. 82, note.

6. *Italienische Studien Paul Schubring zum 60. Geburtstag*, Leipzig, 1929, pp. 138 ff.

vanni di Betto, the other two[7] by a certain Simone del Caprino. This documentary information makes too embarrassing the selection from the sixteen capitals of the lower story (which Botto shows on chronological grounds to be all that comes into consideration)[8] of any particular two for attribution to Sansovino even as designer. Indeed, the pair claimed for Sansovino by Stechow do not go much better with the touchstone capitals of the Corbinelli altar than do the pair which Milanesi thought he could pick out.[9] And really the differences these critics see are mainly the differences between general types of capitals, not between individual examples designed by different artists, and thus have no special significance in view of the great variety of the decorative motives used in the sacristy.[10]

Certainly, this wealth of decorative ideas (cf. Fig. 8) was not the brain child of any Giovanni di Betto, or Simone del Caprino. They would not have been independently creative artists but mere artisan stone-cutters, satellites of their more gifted brethren of the guild.[11] Consequently, the capitals do not interest us as theirs but as the invention of the directing architect and determining artistic personality, Giuliano da Sangallo. Yet such craftsmen must be taken into account whenever it comes to the attribution of a piece of sculpture to Sangallo. Then as now a leading architect would be surrounded with a varied executive staff of subordinates.[12] Among these would be specialists for decorative sculpture who in turn were doubtless in many cases, as directors of considerable workshops of stone-cutters, themselves employers of another lower cast of assistants.[13] It is readily conceivable that the head architect might allow his executive staff a large measure of independence. But when, as so frequently, he is a sculptor too, it is a temptation to assume he would have a particular interest in the decorative detail and would perhaps even go so far as to have a hand in it himself. The sculptural decoration of Giuliano's buildings because of its wonderful richness and beauty has always given rise to the error of ascribing to him a large personal participation in the execution of it. The case of the sacristy of S. Spirito teaches us, however, that for a man of the imposing personality of Giuliano to turn over his drawings (of which there are in the Codex Barberini[14] a number of sketches for capitals like ours) to well trained aids was evidently enough to convey a distinctly

7. Actually three capitals, but see Botto, *op. cit.*, p. 46, note 2.

8. The capitals of the upper story and of the choir chapel (Barbadori Chapel) were not finished until after 1490, when Sansovino's stipend had ceased. See Botto, *op. cit.*, p. 46

9. Vasari, Milanesi ed., IV, p 511.

10. The working of the capitals is so uniform that Botto (*op. cit.*, p. 48) can hardly be right in proposing that when the dome fell in 1496 some capitals may have been damaged and replaced. By such a theory, it is true, one could fall back on this disaster for an explanation of Vasari's statement regarding the participation of Sansovino; it is about the only way to bring in Sansovino for the capitals in spite of the full number having been furnished by others. But the difficulty is that by 1496 Sansovino was not in Florence.

11. Giovanni di Betto also produced the capitals of the vestibule after Cronaca's design, but they are so unlike those of the sacristy that no one would attribute them to the same artist on stylistic grounds (Botto, *op. cit.* pp. 48-50).

12. In the case of the sacristy are also mentioned the following: Lo Scorbacchia and Salvi di Andrea as *capomaestri*, probably the foremen, and Antonio di Manno as *lastraiuolo*, another stone-cutter who did cornices and the like (Botto, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

13. Such assistants were probably the two mentioned in the documents as working on the vault of the vestibule, Bartolommeo di Mariotto and Federigo di Filippo. They are called *scultori* (Botto, *op. cit.*, p. 37) but Giovanni di Betto and Simone del Caprino *lastraiuoli* (*idem*, p. 32). It may be mentioned that Bernardo Rossellino, for instance, is often called *lastraiuolo* in the documents, particularly when he appears as head of a larger shop engaged in architectural commissions.

14. C. Huelsen, *Il Libro di Giuliano da Sangallo*, Cod. Vat. Barb. Lat. 4424, Leipzig, 1910, fols. 16v, 17r.

FIG. 5—*Florence, Palazzo Gondi: Frieze of Chimney-Piece*

FIG. 6—*Florence, S. Trinità: Sassetti Tomb Relief*

FIG. 7—*Florence, Private Ownership (Formerly): Frieze Relief*

FIG. 8—*Florence, S. Spirito: Capital in the Sacristy*

FIG. 9—*Monte S. Savino, S. Chiara: Glazed Terracotta Altarpiece*

personal character to the whole decoration. This instance demolishes the traditional way of regarding such sculpture as the master's own handiwork, and our attributions have to be correspondingly rectified. The long-standing failure to grasp these relationships is clearly the cause of much of the confusion that has characterized the attributions of architectural sculpture. While the sceptics tended to overemphasize the independence of the individual stone-cutter, the believing were often too easy-going in overlooking it.

Knowing of these two stone-cutters makes it very easy to get a clearer idea of Giuliano's œuvre. For Giovanni di Betto we can take the general run of the capitals of the sacristy of S. Spirito as representative. For Simone del Caprino we do well to turn to the vestibule of the sacristy, the richly carved vaulting of which is documented as his labor.[15] They seem to have had separate specialties and different schooling. To Giovanni was entrusted for the most part ornamental carving. His few figures, e. g. the delicate Christ Children of the capitals of the sacristy, reveal the tradition of the Florentine *marmorari* such as Desiderio and the Rossellino. In contrast, the ornamental carving of Simone is much drier and more stiffly gaited. Hence, probably, he was usually assigned figure carving. He seems to come from a group of Florentine sculptors of the peripheral late Donatello school[16] who were rather against ornament. It is tempting to think that perhaps the two capitals in the sacristy with the beautiful warriors are his pair (Fig. 8)[17] though only a few of the large medallions of the vestibule vault can rival these in quality. Indeed, it is for the vestibule that the use of assistant carvers is documented.[18]

In the style of carving of Giovanni di Betto, possibly even executed by him in part, is the decoration of the two showpieces of Sangallo's architecture, the Palazzo Gondi and the Palazzo Corsi-Horne.[19] The capitals and frieze of the Palazzo Gondi reach such a high level of accomplishment that we have here if anywhere the pure expression of Sangallo's ideas and might even go so far as to look for his personal participation in this work. The handsome chimney-piece with the frieze of marine deities might be his own work (Fig. 5). At least it was so regarded in Vasari's time, and it is about the only piece of sculpture among the Sangallo attributions which suggests a creator to whom sculpture was anything more than a trade. Even here this applies only to the main part of the frieze, the middle piece; both side pieces are worked on separate slabs and like the ornamental carving are inferior in workmanship and inspiration and are doubtless assistants' work.[20]

The decorations of the church of S. Maria delle Carceri at Prato, erected at this same period, remain to be mentioned though they do not have much bearing on our problem. In them Sangallo had no personal part nor did any of his helpers whose names we know. Their execution is, indeed, so indifferent that we must assume the architects's employees here were local and rather provincial. For the contrast with the

15. Botto, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

16. Cf. with the figures of the vault the medallions in the court of the Palazzo Medici Riccardi.

17. Illustrated by Stechow, *op. cit.*, fig. 3.

18. Cf. note 13.

19. Gamba, in *Dedalo*, I, 1920, p. 166; Venturi, *Storia....* VIII, I, 1923, p. 430 (as Cronaca). I purposely omit the question of the Palazzo Strozzi and the consoles from it in the Metropolitan Museum. I am undecided to whom to attribute the building and the decorative sculptures. Cf. Stegmann and Geymüller, *op. cit.*, V, p. 7, and J. Rorimer, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, I, pp. 95 ff.

20. The putti's head to the left is not unlike the Christ Children of the sacristy chapel.

work of such assistants as we have been discussing is very great. It would seem that Sangallo gave *carte blanche* to the Della Robbias, Andrea and his brothers,[21] in the medallions of the pendentives and the frieze.

The sculptural decoration of the vestibule of the sacristy of S. Spirito, that is the variant of Giuliano Sangallo's style which we associate with the name of Simone di Caprino, helps to explain the Sassetti tombs in S. Trinità, Florence (Fig. 6), and to do away with doubt regarding their attribution. Venturi's proposal[22] to ascribe these tombs to Bertoldo has not been favorably received. Even Bode[23] ignores it despite the lack of strictness in his book on Bertoldo. No artist of Bertoldo's rank can be held responsible for the coarse unanatomical figures, for the globular expressionless heads, and for the unambitious simplified draperies. These characteristics are very like those of certain reliefs—not the best—of the vault of the sacristy vestibule and demonstrate the incapacity of such stone-cutters to carry out the ideas of a real artist. That the two Sassetti tombs are nevertheless among the most important monuments of Renaissance decorative sculpture in Florence is due to the genius of their designer, which overcomes even the most severe defects of execution. There is no reason to see as the personality behind these artisans any other than Giuliano Sangallo, to whom tradition assigns the tombs.[24] His sketch-book contains frieze designs which look like counterparts of the Sassetti frieze.[25] To his enthusiasm for the antique is most reasonably attributed the borrowing from a Roman sarcophagus composition seen in one of the friezes.[26] A piece of decorative frieze formerly privately owned in Florence (Fig. 7)[27] is closely related to the frieze of the Sassetti tombs. It shows a combination of antique motives quite to Sangallo's taste. It could, to judge by the technique, be the work of one of the men who were employed on the tombs although it seems to reveal a little more competence. Still, one must guard against too much emphasis on qualitative distinctions in dealing with these obscure grades of incompetence.

There remains to be considered a work which has always been admired as one of Sangallo's outstanding achievements, the patently mythological[28] frieze in colored glazed terracotta (Figs. 1-4) which graces the vestibule of the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano,[29] a building that shows Sangallo's genius and personality at high tide. Yet the frieze is a problem, for it resists every attempt to fit it into his oeuvre anywhere.

21. Marquand, *Andrea della Robbia*, Princeton, 1922, pp. 109-114.

22. *L'Arte*, XIII, 1910, pp. 385 ff.

23. Bode, *Bertoldo und Lorenzo dei Medici*, Freiburg, 1925.

24. No documents are available for the Sassetti tombs. Giuliano da Sangallo's name is introduced into the literature first by Fantozzi, *Guida di Firenze*, 1842, p. 570, with a "dicesi" at a time prior to the quest for novelty in the history of art. The date accepted here is that made probable by Fabriczy; Clausse (*Les Sangallos*, I, 1900, pp. 66 ff.) dates the commission 1482; but see Fabriczy in *Rep. f. Kunstw.*, XXVII, 1904, pp. 73 ff., especially p. 76.

25. Fabriczy, in *Jahrb. der K. Preuss. Kunsts.*, XXIII, 1902, p. 197, fig. 1.

26. Schottmüller, in *Rep. f. Kunstw.*, XV, 1902, pp. 406 ff.; Warburg, in *Kunstwissenschaftliche Beiträge Aug. Schmarsow gewidmet*, 1907, p. 144.

27. Photo. Reali at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence. According to information kindly supplied by Miss M. H. Longhurst the relief was later sold at Sotheby's and passed to Paris. The cautiously advanced attribution of the relief of St. Sebastian in the Victoria and Albert Museum to Sangallo seems doubtful to me: the analogy with the frieze of the Sassetti tombs does not carry conviction. Cf. Maclagan and Longhurst, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture*, London, 1932, p. 70, pl. 30.

28. The frieze has not been interpreted, but I hope soon to be able to explain it.

29. Fabriczy, in *Jahrb. d. K. Preuss. Kunsts.*, XXIII, 1902, *Beiheft*, p. 16. The exact date of the building is unknown.

Taking the frieze of the chimney-piece of the Palazzo Gondi (Fig. 5) as representing Sangallo's style, we see him as a man of progressive ideas but limited technical skill; as a sculptor he seems never entirely to have outgrown his somewhat old-fashioned Donatellesque training. This explains how Venturi could ascribe his heavy, sometimes rather inelegant reflection of antique motives on the Sassetti tombs to the pupil of Donatello Bertoldo. It is but natural that he could not associate them with the artist of the frieze of Poggio a Caiano with its neat classic phraseology. We, on our part, in view of the above, must make up our minds to exclude this terracotta frieze from Sangallo's oeuvre. For the assumption of another artisan assistant is inadequate to account for the difference. Sangallo must in this case have had a partner who was able to realize the architect's intention quite independently and more freely than Sangallo himself could have done. He who had dabbled in sculpture and trusted to the help of others found for once a sculptor after his own heart to save him from his own incapacity and that of others.

It would be surprising if only a single work resulted from so happy a partnership. But there is also the possibility that the other party may have given his name to another joint undertaking. In a previous article[30] I have undertaken to show that Andrea Sansovino's sacrament altar made for the Corbinelli in S. Spirito bears the stamp of Sangallo's architectural imagination. Even without laying too much stress on the participation of both Sangallo and Sansovino in the sacristy of S. Spirito there is still good enough reason to look to the latter as the creator of the frieze at Poggio a Caiano. His greater assurance in the face of the antique and his greater independence in adapting it to his purposes are the outstanding characteristics of Sansovino and underlay his whole later success.

It is almost superfluous to go into a detailed demonstration of this attribution, for whoever is acquainted with Sansovino's early period, to which the frieze would belong, will immediately understand it, while to explain it *in extenso* is, for purely external reasons, more than difficult. First of all, the frieze is hard to parallel in his work because of its subject matter. The program is that of some humanist in the circle of Lorenzo il Magnifico, perhaps Politian. Secondly, even its general formulation can hardly be Sansovino's own. Giuliano Sangallo as the learned student and connoisseur of the antique probably dictated to his partner figure for figure what ought to be done to present the characters of classical mythology as correctly as possible. This is the only time in his life that we find Sansovino going into a scholarly project of the sort. But since he seems usually to have tenaciously remembered what he had done or learned and to have drawn prudently, as opportunity offered, upon his savings of stored impressions,[31] we can at least find frequent analogies for details of the frieze in much later works of his.

The similarity between the youth with globe and compass in the first field of the frieze (Fig. 1) and the John the Baptist on the Florentine Baptistery lies not only in their motivation but much deeper in imponderables of their personal type, their proportions and physical make-up. This male type recurs throughout the frieze and in his other work reaches its pure embodiment in the podium frieze of the Basso-

30. *Münchener Jahrb.*, X, 1933, pp. 138-146.

31. Cf. *Burl. Mag.*, LX, 1932, p. 241.

Rovere tomb in S. M. del Popolo, Rome. The female types of the Seasons of the fourth field of the frieze (Fig. 2) likewise figure in Sansovino's permanent invoice: they reappear in the Virtues of his two Roman tombs. There are certain peculiarities of the drapery which can be traced through his works. The great loose folds over the knees of the Nature (Fig. 1)—the matronly figure of the first field who sends out the souls—occur in his earliest works, such as the altarpiece of Monte S. Savino (Fig. 9) and the terracotta statuette of the Bargello, as well as in his latest reliefs at Loreto. The solecistic catching-up of the drapery about the legs of standing figures (Fig. 3), a strange interpretation of the "wet" clinging drapery of antiquity used with evident gusto on the frieze, remains, in a much improved form a favorite mannerism of the artist and occurs even in his most mature works, such as the Genoa Madonna and the Roman tombs. But peculiar to his early period are the angular sharp-edged folds of the Winter (Fig. 2) which recur on one of the kneeling figures at Monte S. Savino (Fig. 9) and especially on the Pietà relief of the Corbinelli altar.

Other more evasive stylistic characteristics are only technically explicable as consequent upon the use of soft clay for modeling. This material must have been more familiar to the artist in his early period than at a later stage[32] when his usual material was the more adequate marble, which he learned how to use with the utmost virtuosity. We know, too, that Sansovino in his youth kept the Della Robbia studio busy giving his creations coloring, brilliance, and durability. The above-mentioned large glazed terracotta altar at Monte S. Savino (Fig. 9) bears the closest relation to our frieze. The two angels hovering over the Madonna there have garments fluttering in similar folds and showing edges twisted in similar bizarre lines to those of the frieze. The cherub heads at the feet of the Madonna have the hollow tragic look of antique masks, as do the heads of the frieze, that seem thereby translated into a timeless ideality.[33]

We could successfully pursue still further comparative details. But we should never succeed in finding the mood of the frieze again among the works of Andrea Sansovino. Though the language was his the spirit and mentality underlying the frieze were of another, of Giuliano da Sangallo. As already said, Sansovino never created another work of this sort. It is easy to imagine that he may have felt uncomfortable at being obliged by Sangallo to venture so far into the realm of the antique gods. Sansovino's normality, his taste, his inclination to the practical and the prosaic adaptation to given conditions made it possible for him to learn from the antique an assurance both as to form and expression. He reached the point where, like his younger and more gifted contemporary Raphael, everything grew into a harmony under his touch. But Sangallo's relation to the antique was more profound. He strove to grasp its real meaning, its occult aspects, its undiscoverable secrets, its vital force from which had sprung both the most perfect harmonies and the wildest expressions of pathos. This energetic struggle of Sangallo identifies him with the heroic age of the Quattrocento. It is Donatello's *terribilità* which glows still in the successor. Sangallo had, on occasion, as we have seen, been indebted to Andrea

32. That might be due to its coming from the Pollaiuolo shop, which was never a *scarpellini* place.

33. The Galba head of the Vasari house at Arezzo comes to mind. Cf. *Boll. d'arte*, XIII, 1919, pp. 30 ff.

Sansovino a little and had profited by this partner's skill. But, in general, the relation must have been the reverse—take the Corbinelli altar for example—and it was through the efforts of Sangallo and other pioneers that Sansovino's path was made easy. It was only in a very limited way that Sansovino surpassed Sangallo. Just one of Sangallo's aspects found fruition in this partner, beside and overshadowing whom grew up Sangallo's real heir and protégé, Michelangelo.

APPENDIX

Chronological List of Sculpture Executed under the Direction of Giuliano di Sangallo

1. *Poggio a Caiano,* Villa Reale (c. 1485). Mythological frieze of the vestibule, executed by Andrea Sansovino.
2. *Prato,* S. Maria delle Carceri (1485-1490). Capitals and other decorative carvings executed by a group of provincial stone-cutters. Terracottas by Andrea della Robbia and his brothers (1491-1492).
3. *Florence,* S. Trinità. Two tombs in the Sassetti chapel (between 1486 and 1491 ?), executed by the workshop of Simone del Caprino (?).
4. *Paris, formerly Florence,* private possession. Decorative fragment with Bacchic and other mythological subjects, executed by the workshop of Simone del Caprino (?).
5. *Florence,* S. Spirito, Sacristy (1488 ff.). Forty capitals, executed by Giovanni di Betto (38 capitals —1490-1492) and Simone del Caprino (2 capitals —1490).
6. *Florence,* S. Spirito, Sacristy. Vault of the vestibule with ornament and little allegorical figures (1492-1495) executed by Simone del Caprino with the assistance of Partolommeo di Mariotto and Federigo di Filippo.
7. *Florence,* Palazzo Gondi (beween 1490 and 1494). Capitals, consoles, pilasters, etc., executed by Giovanni di Betto (?). Chimney-piece (1489 ?), executed in part by Giuliano da Sangallo himself.
8. *Florence,* Palazzo Corsi-Horne. Capitals, consoles, etc., executed by Giovanni di Betto (?).

Florence, Palazzo Gondi: Console in the Court

THE JOURNEY OF FERRER BASSA

By GEORGIANA GODDARD KING

FERRER Bassa (fl. 1324-1348) was an illuminator of manuscripts in early life, painted at least nine retables in his later years, and died, perhaps of the Black Death, in 1348. He seems to have been a king's favorite all his days: for Alfonso IV he illuminated the *Usages of Barcelona and Customs of Catalonia,* and for the queen of Pedro IV, a Book of Hours, to borrow which her husband wrote from Barcelona to Valencia in 1342. The retables were executed for King Pedro, excepting three in Lérida Cathedral commissioned for the great house of Moncada (1341) and his last work, undertaken for the Franciscan abbot at Valencia and never finished. Elisonda de Moncada, the queen of Jaime II, founded a Franciscan nunnery at Pedralbes (1326), and her niece, the second abbess, employed Ferrer Bassa to decorate the chapel of St. Michael there, his only surviving work and so far as we know, his only fresco painting.

The frescoes were published by Sanpere y Miquel and have recently been photographed for the second time by Mas; I was able to visit and study the chapel, then in strict clausura, in 1920. Three walls of the room are covered by a double range of frescoes: below, the Annunciation, Nativity (Fig. 2), Epiphany, a centralized Triumph of the Virgin, the Maries at the Tomb, the Ascension, Pentecost, and the Coronation; above, the Agony and Betrayal, Christ before Pilate, the Way to Calvary, a larger Crucifixion (Fig. 7), Deposition (Fig. 5), Pietà, and Entombment. Other wall spaces are filled by standing saints, two or three together (Fig. 4), or solitary (Fig. 6). Though the style is markedly individual, the Tuscan character reveals itself and in particular the Sienese. Ferrer Bassa cannot be dismissed as another Giottesque nor was it ever easy to assume that he had been influenced by Florence. With Siena the case is different. The kneeling angels who proffer baskets of roses and vases of lilies in the Triumph of the Virgin have long been referred to Simone Martini's Maestà there. Another parallel exists between the Christ of the Deposition and that in Antwerp.

A chance rereading of Berenson's essay on "Ugolino Lorenzetti" threw the limelight on a probable source. Compare the Sienese master's Nativity in the Fogg Museum (Fig. 1) with that at Pedralbes (Fig. 2): the characteristic head of the Virgin, the serried ranks of angels, the swift emergent half-figure that Ferrer Bassa transferred from the center to make announcement to the shepherds. In the now missing polyptych from S. Gimignano the deacon shows no small resemblance to Bassa's St. Stephen.[1] The Fogg Nativity was painted c. 1337-40. Its curious nose and skull forms are seen in the work of Pietro Lorenzetti's followers, for instance a Virgin at Urbino.[2] Closer study reveals a likeness between the lofty brow of the Christ Child

1. Bernhard Berenson, *Essays in the Study of Sienese Painting,* figs. 1, 5, 5a, 8; Sanpere y Miquel, *La Pintura Mig-eval Catalana,* II, fig. 75.

2. L. Venturi, *L'Arte attraverso le Marche,* in *L'Arte,* XVIII (1915), p. 11, fig. 12.

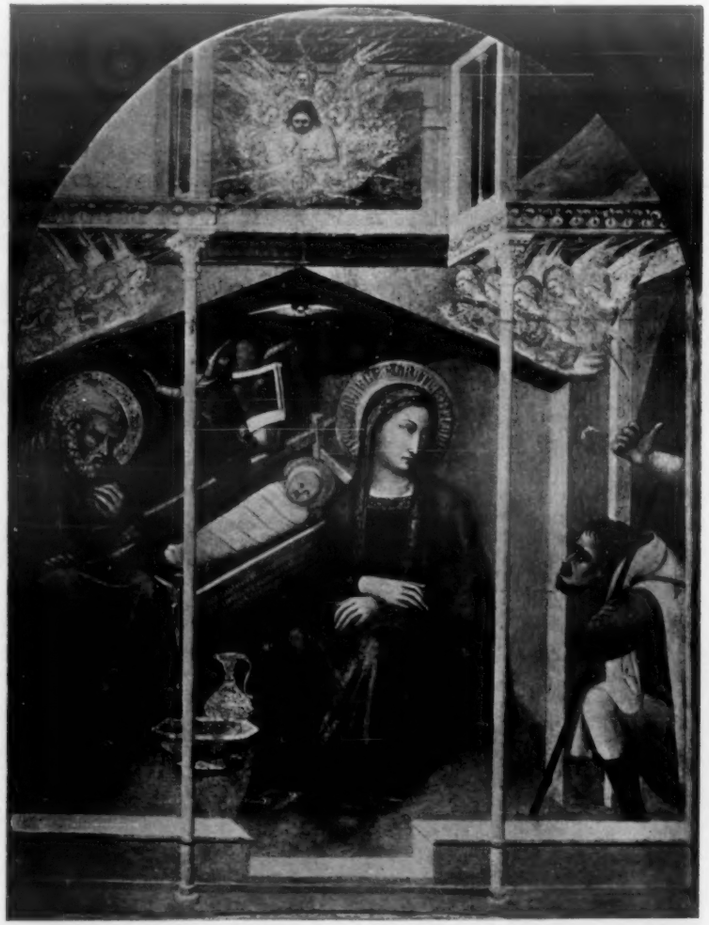

FIG. 1—*Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum: Nativity, by "Ugolino Lorenzetti"*

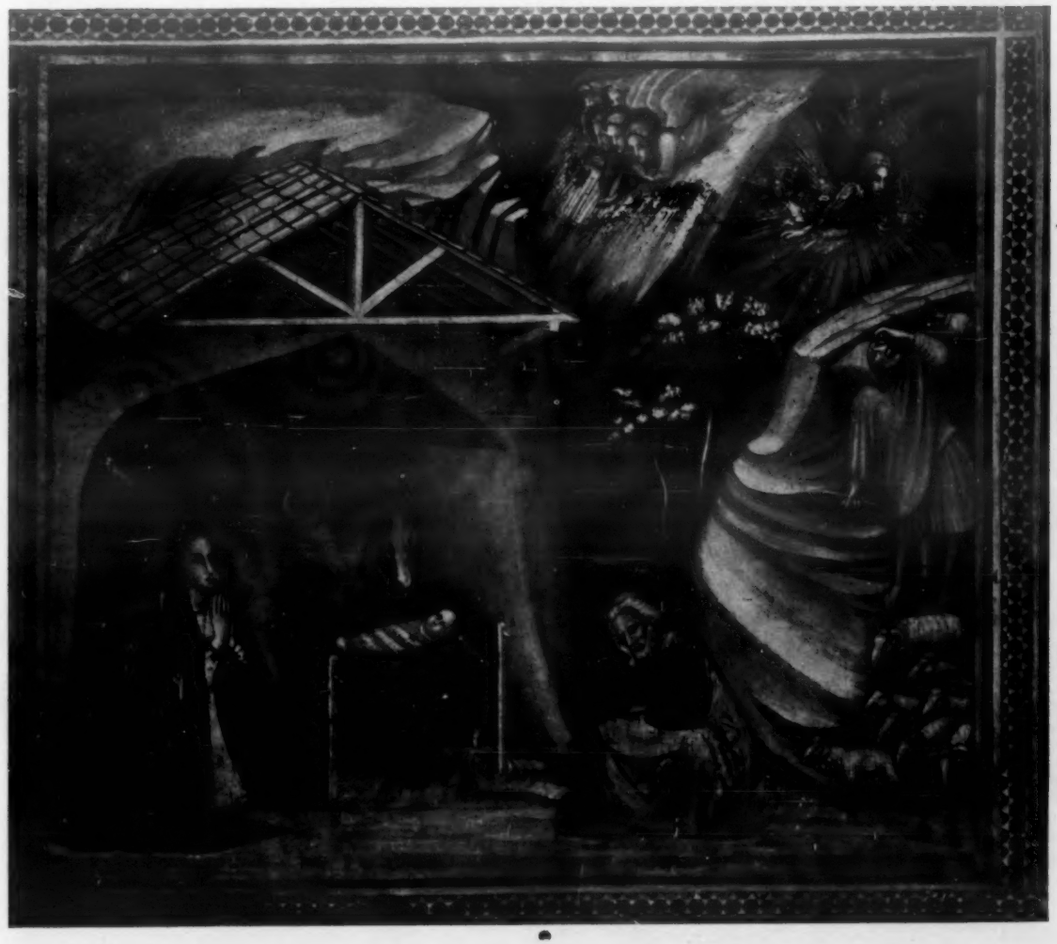

FIG. 2—*Pedralbes, Chapel of St. Michael: Nativity by Ferrer Bassa*

FIG. 3—*The Painter Protected by Obedience*

FIG. 4—*Two Saints*

Pedralbes, Chapel of St. Michael: Frescoes by Ferrer Bassa

FIG. 5—*Deposition*

FIG. 6—*St. Elizabeth*

Pedralbes, Chapel of St. Michael: Frescoes by Ferrer Bassa

FIG. 7—*Pedralbes, Chapel of St. Michael: Crucifixion, by Ferrer Bassa*

FIG. 8—*Siena, S. Francesco: Crucifixion, by Pietro Lorenzetti*

in Bassa's frescoes and that of the Child in Pietro Lorenzetti's pictures at Florence (1340), Cortona (before 1330), and Assisi (shortly after the last).[3] In the topmost right-hand angel of Bassa's Triumph of the Virgin is found the same frontality, the same blank look of one in ecstasy, as in Pietro's St. Catharine at the Metropolitan Museum; and in the dramatic play with pincers at the Deposition (Fig. 5) Ferrer Bassa has rehearsed Pietro's Assisi episode. Even the hair-dressing of Pietro's angels, the fan-shaped shock of hair[4] above the brow, is imitated by Bassa. There is a general likeness between Pietro's Arezzo Annunciation (1320) and that of Pedralbes, particularized in the conception and position of the delicate frieze of leafage. A St. Elizabeth in the small Sienese panel attributed to Ambrogio Lorenzetti, the St. Dorothy of his polyptych, and the Catalan St. Elizabeth (Fig. 6), all are highbred and akin, each carrying a lapful of flowers with a like grace.

It remains only to juxtapose the two scenes of the Crucifixion, Bassa's at Pedralbes (Fig. 7) and Pietro Lorenzetti's at S. Francesco in Siena (Fig. 8). The two soldiers at the right are transposed but their gestures are unaltered; the Maries on the left are reduced in number but the two still support the Virgin by drawing her arms over their shoulders: Bassa's adaptation is ingenious. Pietro's St. John, almost German in posture and expression, is repeated in the equally isolated figure, whose unfamiliar gesture is carefully made explicable. Manifestly, Ferrer Bassa had visited Siena. The heavy hair of Christ falling close about His face—the same dark and heavy hair as in the painting of Velasquez and the images of Montañés—and the vertical fall of Christ's arms in the Deposition, may be seen in the panel by Simone Martini from the Stefaneschi altarpiece, painted at Avignon, where Simone was ending his life in contact with Catalans.

The importance of the traveling artist's sketchbook finds confirmation in this recital: the case is one of suggestion, memory, half-uncertain borrowing, not of copying or pupilage. It is perhaps possible to reconstruct Ferrer Bassa's journey. Documents may yield something.

First, it is noteworthy that the original contract, besides calling for the Seven Joys of the Madonna, the Seven Histories of the Passion, and a Majesty, specified various isolated saints: Michael, John the Baptist, James Major, Francis, Clare, Eulalia, Catharine, and Anthony of Padua, patrons mostly of the Order or of the locality. Yet in the finished work some of the stipulated Franciscans amongst others have dropped out, and along with St. Elizabeth have come in St. Doninus the deacon and St. Honoratus the bishop. They must be accounted for somehow. Secondly, in 1348 Arnau Bassa, the artist's son and himself a painter, undertook to paint for the abbess of Pedralbes an *Abragium,* a Tree of Abraham,[5] with figures of whomever the lady abbess should select. That such a tree—like the Tree of the Cross in S. Croce, a Franciscan one at Assisi, and another, unidentified, at Dolianova in Sardinia[6]—after centuries of whitewash would be untraceable is not surprising. There is no further mention in the abundant archives, moreover. Perhaps

3. E. T. DeWald, *Pietro Lorenzetti* in *Art Studies,* VII (1930), figs. 17, 21, 25.

4. The phrase is Berenson's, characterizing Ugolino; for the angels see DeWald, *op. cit.,* figs. 9 ff. (S. Ansano in Dofana, 1329), and fig. 17 (Uffizi, 1340).

5. Sanpere, *op. cit.,* p. 253.

6. G. G. King, *Sardinian Painting,* p. 54.

Arnau Bassa, with thousands more, died of the Black Death that year and it was never done at all. He was certainly dead in 1350 when King Peter the Ceremonious, being in Valencia, January 26, ordered that the unfinished retable of St. Francis should be sent down to the friars, however fragmentary, and the portion of the price prepaid, be returned.[7]

But though trees of Jesse are common, the only Tree of Abraham that comes to my memory is the one at Orvieto, executed between 1320 and 1330 under Lorenzo Maitani. Had Ferrer Bassa and his son, or had the elder alone, passed through Orvieto, and why? The cathedral there was built to enshrine the Corporals of the Miracle of Bolsena (transpired 1263). Now the kingdom of Valencia-Aragon cherishes its own analogous miracle, that of the Corporals now enshrined at Daroca, supposed to have occurred c. 1250. Doña Teresa de Entenza, for whose ancestor, Don Berenguer de Entenza, this took place, was the wife and queen of Ferrer Bassa's patron Alfonso IV. When Doña Maria de Vidaure, Lady of the Barony of Lucente, sought the site of the miracle in the Valencian foothills, in 1333, there were various other confirmatory miracles.[8] Holy Corporals were a matter of current interest, apart from spiritual profit. Yet Ferrer Bassa might have seen cause to acquire merit if he was the Ferrer de Baço whom, when accused of rape (which in the Middle Ages usually meant abduction or simple elopement with a well-dowered girl), Jaime II pardoned at the instance of his queen in 1315, or the same Ferrer Bassa of Sesguyoles pardoned by the same king for an unnamed but grave offense in 1320. If he was going to Italy, why not to shrines?

As a matter of fact, there is in his career a gap unaccounted for. Looking over the dates which mark his life,[9] the interval between 1333 and 1339 seems to allow a chance for travel. Because of the natural drift of circumstances, and because of the outburst of commissions which followed, a later date is likelier than an earlier. He could then have seen all the Italian pictures here cited in comparison. Suppose that like most Spaniards, Velasquez for instance, he took ship at Barcelona for Genoa. An ancient road runs up among the mountains thence, passing Piacenza and Borgo S. Donnino; this Deacon St. Doninus was revered also at Piacenza.[10] Thence, crossing the mountains, let us imagine our artist following the old road, which avoids Florence, but runs through Siena, and thence to Orvieto; from Orvieto the direct road to Assisi is still traveled. Leaving Assisi he might naturally pass through Arezzo on his return to Genoa. He could include a visit to Avignon on the homeward itinerary, touch at the Isle of Lérins, and perhaps see Les Alyscamps with the little church of St. Honorat at the end of the vista, as Dante saw them. St. Honorat was well known and loved in eastern Spain. A good deal of law-breaking would have been worked off at all these sanctuaries, and Bassa could have conscientiously put his portrait, as layman and as craftsman, under the uplifted hands of Obedience (Fig. 3).

7. Sanchis y Sivera, *Pintores medievales en Valencia*, p. 14.

8 Llorente, *Valencia*, in *España sus Monumentos*, II, p. 791.

9. 1315, Ferrer Bassa pardoned; 1320, pardoned again; 1324, work for Sitges; 1333, illumination; 1339-41, work for Saragossa; 1341, work for Lérida; 1342, illumination; 1344, work for Lérida, Perpignan, and Barcelona; 1343-5, work at Pedralbes; 1348, died.

10. A. Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, III, pp. 261-5.

MICHELANGELO'S BIBLIOTECA LAURENZIANA

By R. WITTKOWER*

THE Biblioteca Laurenziana must be reckoned as the most important and influential Italian secular building of the sixteenth century. That no exhaustive investigation of its architectural history exists is so much the more remarkable. The present work is an attempt to fill this gap. It comprises investigations of drawings and documents and of the building itself. The best arrangement seems to be not that of tracing the growth of the building strictly chronologically, but rather to establish first, and attempt to explain, the important break which occurred in its history, a break upon which understanding of both previous and subsequent development depends.

Reconstruction of the First Stage of Ricetto Planning

I. The visitor to the cloister of S. Lorenzo (Figs. 2, 6) today sees on its west side, above the arcade of the first floor, the long building of the Laurentian Library. The single line of windows is bounded on the right (north) by a higher two-storied front, three windows wide, behind which is the entrance hall to the library—the famous Ricetto (Figs. 1-3, 7, 8). The façade of the vestibule in its present state is of recent date (Fig. 4). Michelangelo completed only the windows and piers of the lower floor and left the whole upper floor in the rough (Figs. 2, 3). The modern completion was carried out together with some touching up of the interior of the vestibule at and after the turn of the century.[1]

The condition of the vestibule façade before its completion throws such clear light on Michelangelo's intentions as regards the form of this vestibule that it will be advisable to start our investigation from here. Of the actual renovation of the façade none of the scholars then living has left any report. So that for the reconstruction of its original state only two reliable sources are available: Geymüller's description[2] and old photographs by Brogi.[3] It is necessary, with the help of this description and on the basis of the photographs, to study some details of the appearance of the façade before the renovation.[4]

* I am very much indebted to Mrs. John Yeo for the great trouble she has taken in the difficult task of translating this work, as well as to Professor Ernst Steinmann and to the Warburg Institute for a number of photographs they very kindly put at my disposal.

1. For access to the documents I am indebted to Comm. Giovanni Poggi. The work was concluded in 1904. Report of the work then in progress in a few general sentences in *Arte e Storia*, XXI (1902), p. 87.

2. *Michelagnolo Buonarroti als Architekt*, Munich, 1904, p. 26. At the time of publication the renovation was already completed. Geymüller nevertheless omits all reference to it, in spite of the fact that Castellucci, the architect who measured up the Laurenziana for him, was at the same time directing the work of renovation. Geymüller's description of the unfinished façade has remained unnoticed.

3. No. 9411 (Fig. 3), view of the Ricetto façade. The plate no longer exists and the number has been transferred to the photograph of the new façade (Fig. 4). No. 8434 (Fig. 2), view of the whole west side of the cloister. Both photographs unpublished and nowhere alluded to.

4. Cf. Appendix, I, 3 and 4.

Let us take two remarkable observations on the uncompleted façade as starting point for our investigations (Figs. 2, 3). In the middle of the south pier of the Ricetto façade, at the height of the library cornice, a stumpy stone projects well beyond the surface of the pier. The height at which this stone is introduced, its breadth, which corresponds exactly with that of the library consoles, and, finally, its distance from the last console of the library cornice (exactly that between the consoles of the cornice) make it impossible to doubt that this is the upper scroll-shaped part of a console. The opposite northern angle of the wall of the Ricetto is furnished with twenty quoins from the roof of the cloister upwards. The quoins do not go up as far as the roof of the Ricetto, but stop about two-thirds of the way up; above that the angle is built up with simple bricks. It cannot be a mere chance that quoins should be employed exactly to the height of the library cornice. If this fact be combined with the existence of the piece of console on the southern pier, it must follow that in some plan the cornice of the library was to have been continued over the wall of the Ricetto. Assuming that it is possible to find further proofs for this conclusion, we may entertain the idea of a plan existing, when the building was already well advanced, according to which the wall of the Ricetto was to go no higher than that of the library. Library and Ricetto would thus have appeared as a single block of building, under one cornice and roof.[5]

This proposition, on further investigation, becomes a certainty. It has not yet been explained why the quoining was not continued above the level of the cornice. The quoining had meaning only so long as Michelangelo would treat library and Ricetto façade as a unit. Michelangelo must, therefore, at this first stage have intended to bind together the long complex of the façade with quoining on north and south in the manner of the usual palace fronts. As corroboration of this conclusion, quoining should be found at the southern angle of the library; and remains of it are, in fact, still to be found there (Fig. 5).[6] So soon as the change of plan by heightening the Ricetto gave it the effect of an isolated block of building, the quoining became senseless. Therefore, the additional height of the north angle was simply bricked, and the quoins standing from the first plan were to disappear under the plaster.

It has never been pointed out that the present condition of the building scarcely demands the continuation of the row of library windows across the Ricetto in a row of uniform but sham windows. The interior elevation of the Ricetto at the time of the building allowed of window *openings* here as little as it does today. The articulation of the exterior is here completely independent of the arrangement of the interior. Desire for unity between the library and Ricetto façade is the

5. It is worth noticing that Geymüller—without knowing anything of the two building periods—must have observed a horizontal division in the wall, for he says (p. 26): "An der unvollendeten oberen Mauer des Vestibüls, welche auf einer älteren Mauer aufgesetzt ist...." In fact on the photograph one can make out the two different kinds of bricks used: in the lower part, as far up as the cornice of the library, a narrower kind than above.

6. This angle has been built over by a modern block erected at the end of last century at the south end of the library. Above the roof of the new building, which is a little lower than the library, the two top quoins can be seen; between the top one and the cornice there are seven layers of brick. Perhaps on this side too the quoining was discontinued when the heightening of the Ricetto was decided upon. The photograph is taken from the roof of the adjoining building.

FIG. 1—*Florence: General View of the Biblioteca Laurenziana, from the Dome of the Cathedral*

FIG. 2—*Cloister of S. Lorenzo with Façade of the Ricetto and Library, before the Modern Renovation*

explanation of this renunciation of "truth."[7] In the second plan, by its superior height, the box-shaped Ricetto block was sharply separated from the long library building, and the difference between the two blocks immediately became conspicuous. The two blocks of different height could never from the outside have been fashioned as a single whole. Had Michelangelo reckoned from the beginning with these two blocks of different height, he would doubtless have allowed the Ricetto façade to contrast with that of the library. The acceptance in the final plan of the three sham windows can only be interpreted as a solution of the problem by compromise: it is a concession to the first plan, which was, in fact, based on quite other principles.

Knowledge of the nature of that first plan explains quite simply elements such as the quoining and the sham windows, elements which cannot be accounted for by considering only the one final plan. Other considerations lead, moreover, to the same conclusion, that Michelangelo cannot have had the heightening of the Ricetto in mind from the beginning. The library was to be built over the old monks' dwellings (Figs. 1, 2). The new walls were to be set at a minimum cost upon the old. Protracted considerations and consultations were necessary to assure the security of the new walls.[8] The entrance to the vestibule is on the level of the first floor, while the library is one floor higher, lying over the living rooms accessible from the first floor. Even with library and Ricetto under a single roof the total height of the Ricetto would be three meters greater than that of the library (Fig. 10). On these purely technical grounds alone it must have been important to Michelangelo not to raise the Ricetto walls any higher than was absolutely necessary—i. e. to the height of the library roof. The statical problem thus supports the conclusion that only very weighty considerations can have induced Michelangelo to undertake the heightening.

The present spacing of the interior of the Ricetto can, moreover, hardly be looked upon as the natural starting point of a plan. The relation of ground area to height is so unusual that one can neither take it for granted nor regard it as the outcome of an unrestricted artistic intention. It is inconceivable that Michelangelo should have decided from choice to erect a room 14.60 high on a ground dimension of 9.51 × 10.31 m. The obvious plan, which must have been the original one, is from this point of view also that of an identical height for antechamber and main hall.

There was, moreover, a very special aesthetic consideration underlying the union of the two blocks of building from the outside, an idea dictated by the nature of the surrounding buildings. As the cloister was bounded on its north side by the continuous horizontal of the nave of the church, it was desirable to have on the west side also a homogeneous wall, whose regular rhythmic articulation should be in harmony with the arcades of the cloister. It would, as it were, interrupt the peace of the cloister court to introduce blocks of buildings distinct from one another and of different articulation.

These observations support one another, giving weight to the conclusion that the

7. The effect Michelangelo intended is shown in Fig. 7, taken from the roof of the cloister.

8. Appendix, I, Fig. 9.

Ricetto was in the first instance erected on a plan by which it was to be no higher than the library. Only when the framework of the building was well advanced can the change have been introduced. It remains to be seen what necessity can have compelled Michelangelo at the last minute to abandon a plan which seems statically, spatially, and topographically to have been the most reasonable.

II. The observations recorded up to this point do not justify us in accepting as absolutely binding the far-reaching consequences of an eleventh hour change of plan. Only further knowledge can make this certain. A drawing has by chance been preserved which gives an exact representation of the interior wall articulation of the first plan which we are here reconstructing (Figs. 11, 12). The sheet shows that wall of the Ricetto which is opposite the entrance. The wall is not as today divided into three stories, but into four; above the high base with its two doors is the main story, above this an attic, and finally the vault.[9] In spite of its identification with the Ricetto, this paper has not hitherto been correctly interpreted. The point from which to start is the articulation of the main story. The tabernacled wall divisions are enframed by pilasters[10] and a continuous entablature, and as in the actual building of today pairs of columns stand in recesses between the tabernacle divisions. The latter were not, however, built as they are shown on the drawing. They consist today only of narrow sections of wall without the enclosing pilasters (Fig. 14). Thus, there appear in the drawing three pairs of pilasters that were not actually executed, and each of these pilasters is shown with a cross measurement equal to the diameter of a column. This allows of two possible conclusions. Either the ground plan represented in the drawing is 6×54 cm. (diameter of columns) bigger than that of today—it would thus measure instead of 10.31×9.51 m.: 10.31×12.75 m.—or, taking the ground plan of the Ricetto as fixed, all the members shown on the drawing are smaller than those actually executed.

Obviously, the size of the ground plan was not variable, but that of the individual members. The breadth of the room, 10.31 m., was fixed from the beginning, since its east and west walls were to be built upon those of the monks' dwellings. Supposing that the west wall represented in the drawing claimed a breadth of 12.75 m., it would be impossible to articulate on the same system the north and south walls, 2.44 m. shorter. Ground plans which are certainly prior to the date of this paper already show an approximately square ground area (Figs. 20, 23). It is unnecessary to bring further arguments to justify the treatment of this page as being based on the final ground measurement. The supposed measurements of the individual members of the drawing must therefore be calculated from the present dimension of the whole wall represented: 9.51 m.

9. Berenson, *Florentine Drawings*, no. 1423, connected the sheet falsely with the Medici Chapel. Correct designation, Geymüller, *op. cit.*, p. 26, sheet 4, no. 5. Subsequently Thode, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, II, p. 124; C. Frey, *Handzeichnungen des Michelangelo Buonarroti*, no. 234; Tolnai in *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1928, p. 402, fig. 20.

10. Pilasters, not columns as Thode always maintains. This is shown on the plans, most clearly at the left above. The form of the angle shown in the middle above is misleading; for if the drawing were completed pilasters would be marked next to the columns on either side. The question underlying this drawing is the following: should the double column articulation of the wall be continued right into the angle (the final column completing the articulation of each wall) or should this final column be replaced by a pillar? This drawing clearly shows that Michelangelo had already decided in favor of the latter plan. Each wall thus forms a separate whole, not just a section of a continuous rhythmical sequence.

FIG. 3—*Unfinished Façade of the Ricetto, before the Modern Renovation*

FIG. 4—*Façade of the Ricetto, after the Renovation of 1904*

FIG. 5—*Southeast Angle of the Library*

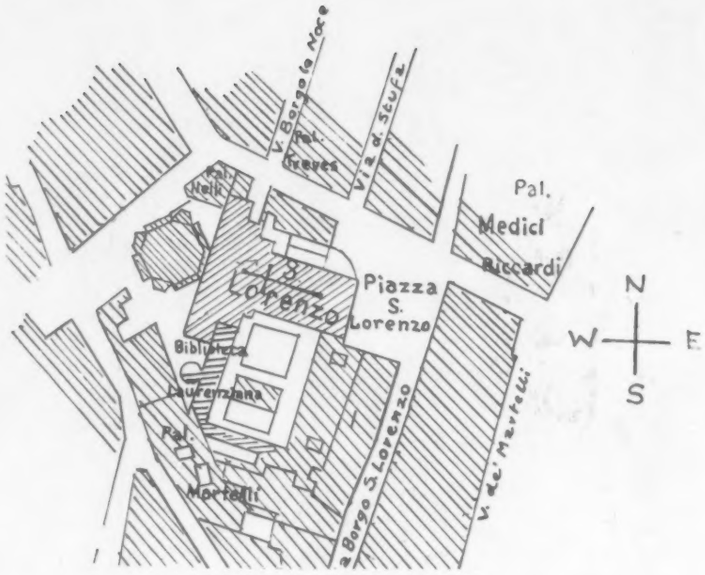

FIG. 6—*Plan of the Surroundings of S. Lorenzo (after Limburger)*

FIG. 7—*Library Windows and Ricetto Sham Windows, from the Roof of the Cloister*

It must be presumed that free-hand sketches of this kind are not drawn exactly to scale. In this case, indeed, during the drawing an unforeseen change of scale took place which demands investigation. The nature of this change is explained by a simple reconstruction of the process of the drawing.[11] The two doors, which were put in before the detailing of the attic and main story, are equidistant from the line, drawn first, bounding the drawing. But on the attic and main story levels the original bounding line is exceeded on the right. Without this enlargement of scale the axis of the tabernacle division would—just as on the left side—have lain over the axis of the door. It would have been superfluous here to correct, for that the door should be axially placed is self-evident.[12]

The change of scale during the drawing does not materially affect the following results. The width, being fixed, establishes a scale from which the total height and the individual measurements can be approximately deduced. The scale varies a little according to the point at which one places the compasses. Starting from the original, inner, bounding line,[13] the total height is 12.25 m.; from the later, outer, bounding line it is 11.50; finally, taking the total width from outer column to outer column into the compass it is 11 m. The Ricetto actually executed is, with the (modern) cornice 14.63 m. high. So on the drawing the actual final height of the Ricetto is in no case indicated.

The floor of the library is, and had to be, 3 m. (exactly 3.039 m.) above that of the Ricetto. The total height of the library amounts to 8.43 m. The Ricetto, if the roof were continuous with that of the library, would therefore be 11.47 m. high (3.04 m. + 8.43 m.). There is no doubt that this is the vertical measurement intended in the design, particularly as exactly the same result is reached with the scale deduced from the outer bounding line. The drawing therefore illustrates the interior wall articulation of that first plan, which can be reconstructed from the exterior of the façade as it was before its modern completion.

Furthermore, it seems in the highest degree probable that this is not merely a stage in the progress of that first plan, but its final form. From this system of articulation to that actually executed there is a clearly marked and unmistakable line of development. When Michelangelo, for reasons which have yet to be investigated, had to undertake the heightening of the Ricetto, it became necessary to give the articulation of the walls new proportions. The introduction of a second high story (Fig. 13) did not suffice, the base and main story had also to be heightened (Fig. 10). The heightening, therefore widening of each individual member, involved a corresponding shrinkage somewhere. The extension of the columns by about 1.35 m. (from about 4.10 m. to 5.46 m.) led to the enlargement of their diameter. This could only be accomplished at the expense of the space occupied by the tabernacle divisions. Hence, the logical step of discarding the pilasters enclosing the tabernacles. But these were not completely sacrificed; they were turned to an

11. See Appendix, II.

12. Tolnai, *loc. cit.*, p. 402, maintains that at this stage Michelangelo was considering two doors placed unsymmetrically in the base. There is nothing in the building to justify the displacement of the right-hand door; behind the whole of the west wall lay a terrace above a Quattrocento loggia, leaving Michelangelo perfectly free in the placing of his doors.

13. See Appendix, II.

angle of 90°, so as to bound the tabernacles by their narrow instead of by their broad fronts. The outcome was thus, in fact, a direct transposition of the proposed design into new enlarged dimensions.

It is not only the close relationship of the general articulation shown on the drawing to that actually employed which identifies it with the ultimate state of the first plan; the individual members of the drawing already show to a marked degree their final form. The doors of the base have, indeed, on the upper part of the frame an applied tong-like hood exactly like that used on the outside of the library windows (Fig. 2). As these windows were already at the time of the drawing partially built, Michelangelo here simply adopted an external motif for internal use. Thus, at this point differentiation of detail is lacking. The hasty indicationof the tabernacles on the drawing clearly represents, however, the basis of their present form (Fig. 15). Particularly in the left-hand tabernacle are the component parts recognizable; the inner box-shaped niche, the pillars tapering towards he base and with deeply recessed capitals, the shelf-like floor of the niche, the crowning segmental gable, and the alternation of segmental and triangular gables—all are fixed. The idea of the attic story appears by way of a remarkable but logical transposition again in the final conception. The square fields of the attic are taken into the main story—actually they almost retain their original position, for by the heightening of base and main story the tabernacles rise to the height of the squares. The circular panels on the recessed plane of the attic are—only after various experiments—transferred above the windows of the actual second story. So no element appearing in the drawing is sacrificed; they all recur, logically transposed, in the actual building.

It must certainly be admitted that the sense of the wall articulation in the first plan is in many respects different from that of the final conception. In the first conception the richly articulated main story rests upon a uniform base, and the advancing and receding parts of the main story are not simply continued vertically into the attic; for the parts of the attic lying above the pilasters of the tabernacle divisions are transferred to a receding plane.[14] In the actual building the same vertical articulation runs through all three stories. In the one case horizontal articulation is dominant: the main story is isolated from the monolithic base, as from the differently articulated attic. In the other, vertical articulation is dominant: from floor to ceiling the advancing and receding wall planes are vertically uniform. This change of sense is, however, the logical outcome of the introduction of a second story, and the second story is the result of the heightening. If the two stories were to be homogeneously articulated it was only logical to include the base.

A heightening of base and main story in connection with the introduction of a second big story not only led to a complete reorientation of the wall articulation, it had other far-reaching consequences. Its revolutionary effect on the staircase plan will be dealt with in detail later. Further, in the final form of the first plan, the distance from the floor of the Ricetto to the recess of the tabernacle is exactly 3 m. The significance of this measurement becomes evident when we realize that it must

14. Tolnai, *loc. cit.*, p. 402, thinks that the articulation of the main story is continued in the attic. This is not so; for the alternating breadths of the projecting and receding divisions can only have a horizontal effect.

have been chosen with regard to the door of the library. According to the first plan the tabernacle recesses were to begin at the height of the library door. This idea is decisive for the wall articulation of the first plan.

When the heightening of the stories ensued, the idea of a correspondence between door and tabernacle had to be abandoned; the door now breaks into the heightened sequence of the tabernacles (Fig. 48). The change of sense in the wall articulation between the first and final plan here retains a particular significance, into the meaning of which from a stylistic point of view we shall enter in a later connection.

III. All the fundamental changes to be deduced from the drawing of the first plan are thus traceable to the idea of heightening. It is now time to look for the reasons underlying this heightening. In the analysis of the first plan a problem of cardinal importance has hitherto remained unexamined. How on the plan of the drawing was the Ricetto to be lighted?[15] In the wall of the vault a rectangular window, nearly 1 m. broad and 0.65 m. high, is indicated. This window could only have been placed in two of the four walls, the west wall, here shown, and the north wall, adjoining the church. The south wall is that against the library and the east façade wall had, in order to retain its uniformity with that of the library, to remain unbroken. Two such small windows would not suffice for the lighting of the Ricetto. Letters do give information as to the ideas for lighting entertained by Michelangelo during this phase. It is necessary to understand this question if we are to discover the reason for the heightening.

Michelangelo intended to light the Ricetto from above. This is clear from letters to him from Fattucci on November 29, 1525, and P. P. Marzi on December 23, 1525.[16] Particularly a passage in Marzi's letter leaves no doubt that it is neither the "piccola libreria," nor the library itself which is in question,[17] but the Ricetto. Before attempting its interpretation it will be as well to give this difficult passage in a literal translation of its own crude language:[18] "The present is to let you know that His Holiness received your letter of the 7th[19] enclosing the drawing of the library some days ago.... He says that the roundels therein shown as lights can be looked upon as very beautiful; but he does not know whether the dust which will fall on them will not be stronger than the light they will be able to transmit? And whether the walls

15. Geymüller, *op. cit.*, p. 26, who alone seems to have considered this question, wrongly takes the circular recesses of the attic for windows. This is impossible, for the circular recesses on the east wall are backed on the outside by piers and in the south and north walls openings at these points are impossible.

16. C. Frey, *Briefe an Michelangiolo*, Berlin, 1899, pp. 268, 270 f. The passage in Fattucci's letter runs: "N. S. a preso grande piacere, quando lesse, che voi vi eri risoluto a fare il ricetto, siche sollecitatelo. Ora circa alle finestre sopra tetto con quelli ochi di vetro nel palco dice N. S., che gli pare cosa bella et nuova; niente di manco non ci risolve a fare, ma disse, che e' bisognierebe saldare dua frati delli Jesuati, che non attendessino ad altro che a nettare la polvere."

17. C. Frey, *Handzeichnungen*, p. 82, is thinking of the "piccola libreria," which, in fact, was to be lit from the roof (see below). Thode, *Krit. Unt.*, II, pp. 116, 119, does not take up a clear position on the point.

18. "La presente è per farvi intendere come N. S.re alli giorni passati hebbe la vostra de 7 col disegno a piedi della libreria, gli mandasti.... Et dice, che li ochi disegnati per dare li lumi si pensa habbino ad essere una cosa bella; ma che non sa, se la polvere, (che) riceveranno, sara maggiore che 'l lume rendere poteranno? Et che alzando el muro duo braccia per fare le finestre, come advisate, et essendo parte del tecto posta su, et haverlo hora ad diffarlo et tramutare legnami, se 'l reggera el peso et fara danno alla fabrica?"

19. Michelangelo's letter of December 2 is clearly referred to. See C. Frey, *op. cit.*

will bear the weight or[20] whether the structure will be damaged, if the walls are heightened two braccia to make windows, as you propose, since part of the roof is already in position and must now be taken down and the beams moved?"

The roof lights are according to this planned for an area which is already partly roofed in. Abandoning them in favor of ordinary windows in the wall involved the demolition of the already erected roof, and the heightening of the surrounding walls.[21] Work had already begun on the windows of the library in April, 1525,[22] and the building of the "piccola libreria" was never begun at all.[23] Marzi's letter can therefore only be referred to the Ricetto, and its sense is clear only in the light of the two plans here described. On the other hand, no clearer or more documentary proof could be found for the change of plan already established from study of the building itself than this letter.

For a complete understanding of Marzi's letter an attempt must be made to reconstruct the whole discussion between the pope and Michelangelo. From Fattucci's letter of November 29 it is clear that Michelangelo had decided shortly before this to begin the building of the Ricetto. It must be presumed that at this time the walls were for the most part standing and that in "fare il ricetto" the covering of the walls is referred to.[24] At the eleventh hour Fattucci wrote that the pope had turned against the construction of the roof lights, and in his answer to the letter of November 29 Michelangelo must have explained that ordinary windows would necessitate the heightening of the walls—the security of which he would not guarantee—and the demolition of the Ricetto roof which was already in place. To this lost letter from Michelangelo Marzi's of December 23 must be taken as the answer in which both solutions are criticized. Even though the final decision is in this letter left to Michelangelo, the affair is not yet settled. It seems that Michelangelo only reluctantly and after further detailed correspondence with the pope allowed the idea of the roof lights to drop. For only on February 23, 1526, do we at last hear that the Ricetto is to be executed in the proposed manner, "in modo avisata."[25] It was thus a full two months, from December 23, 1525, till February 23, 1526, before the final heightened form was decided upon in detail.

The drawing with the wall articulation of the first plan throws light on Michelangelo's idea for the introduction of the roof light. He planned a flat vault, the flat surface of which was, as is clear from previous discussions, to be occupied by the lights (occhi). Further, the final shaping of the first plan can be dated. Sheet Frey 234 (Fig. 11) can, on account of the section showing the flight of steps detached from the wall, have originated only after April 12, 1525.[26] It belongs, however, before November 29, the time of the beginning of the discussion over the heightening of the Ricetto. It has been shown that a direct line leads from the situation of the sketch to that of the building actually erected. The drawing must, therefore, show

20. In Frey's edition of the text is *et:* the sense demands that this should be *o*.

21. Thode, *op. cit.*, p. 116, translates the wrong way round: that the skylight brings about the heightening.

22. See Milanesi, *Lettere di Michelangelo*, Firenze, 1875, p. 597.

23. See below, p. 185.

24. From the comparatively summary accounts published by Gronau in *Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XXXII (1911), *Beiheft*, pp. 68ff., not much can be gathered regarding the progress of the work. See Appendix, I.

25. Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 274.

26. See below.

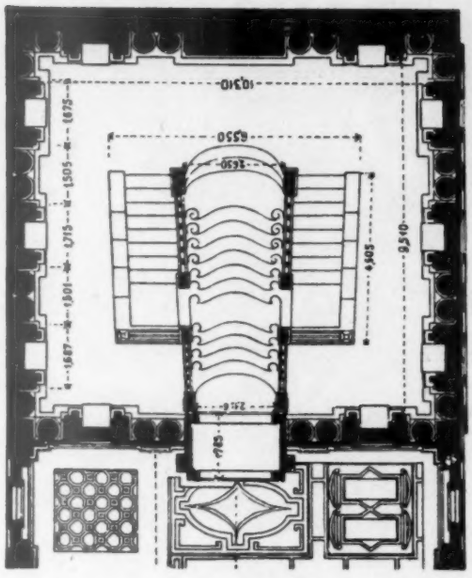

FIG. 8—*Plan of the Ricetto (after Geymüller)*

FIG. 9—*Back (West) Side of the Library*

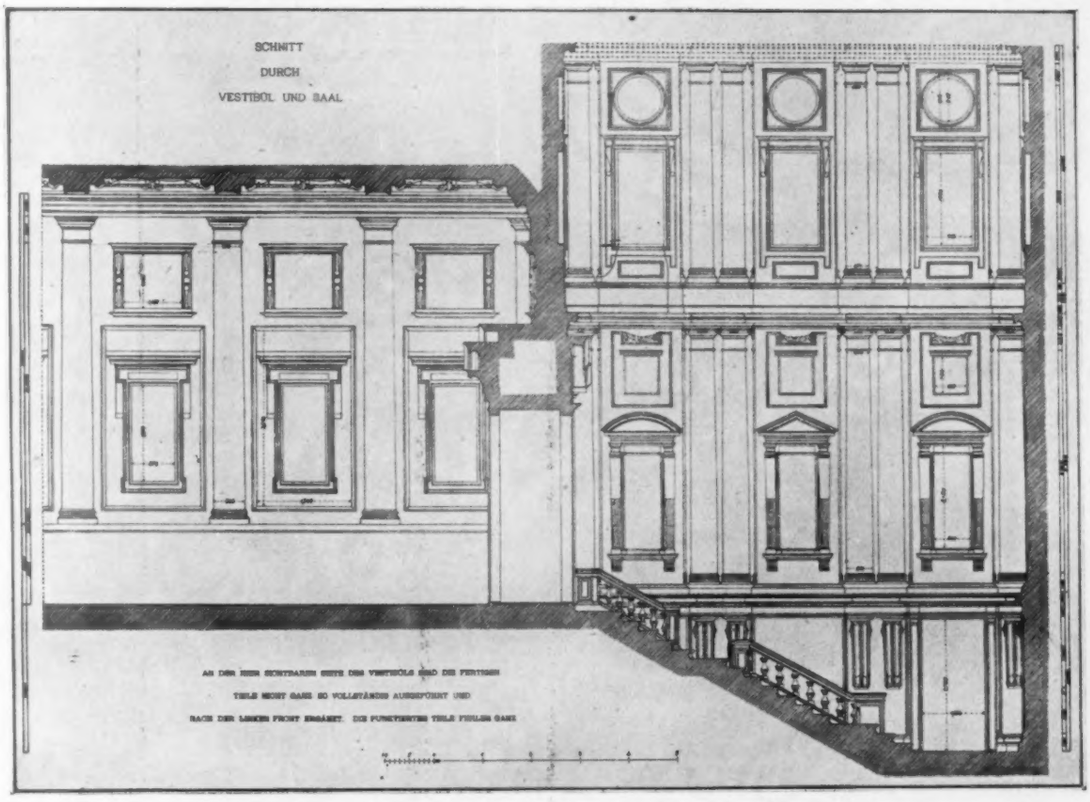

FIG. 10—*Section through the Library and Ricetto (after Geymüller)*

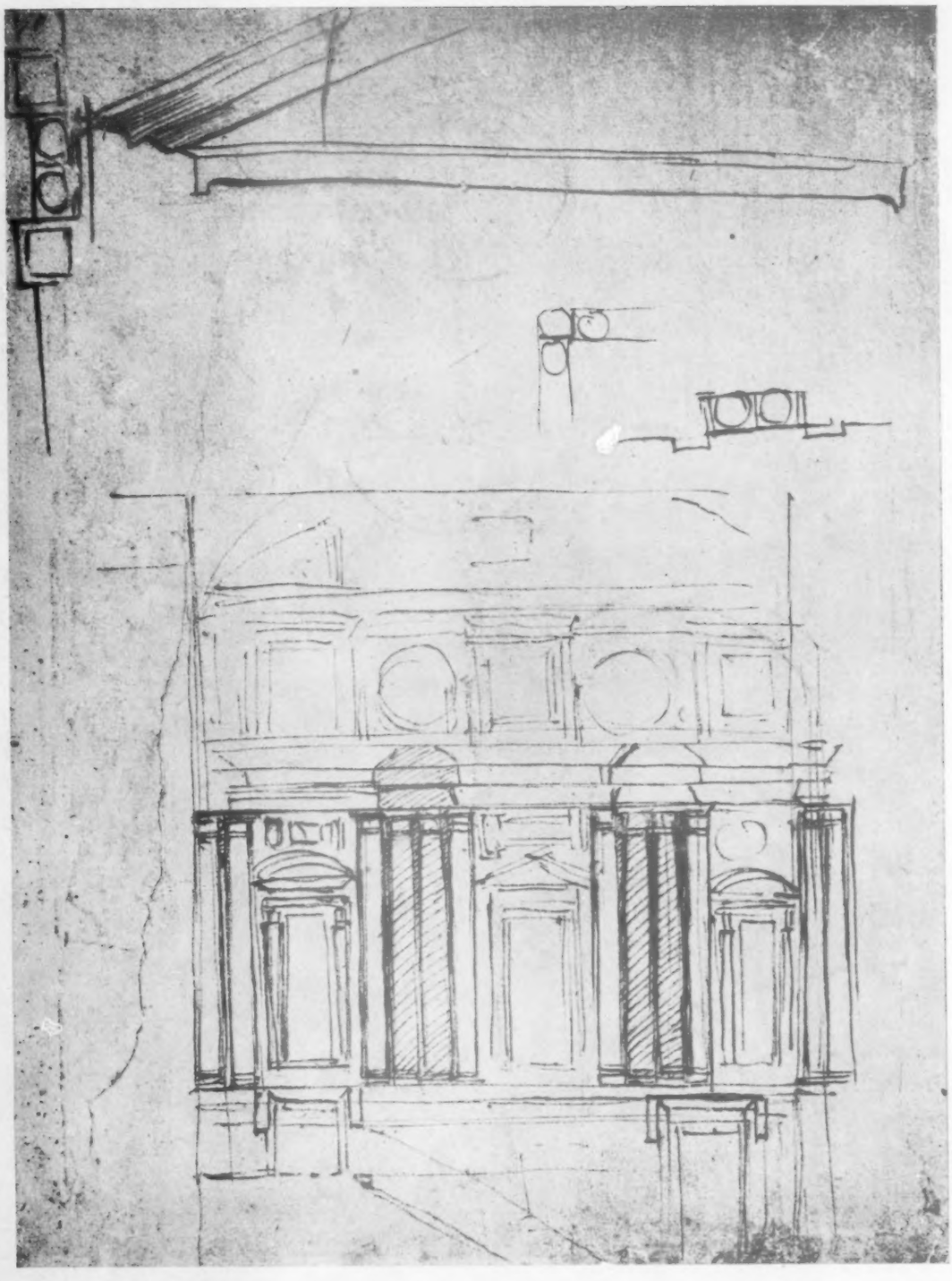

FIG. 11—*Final Form of the First Stage of the Ricetto Planning*
(Casa Buonarroti 48—Frey 234)

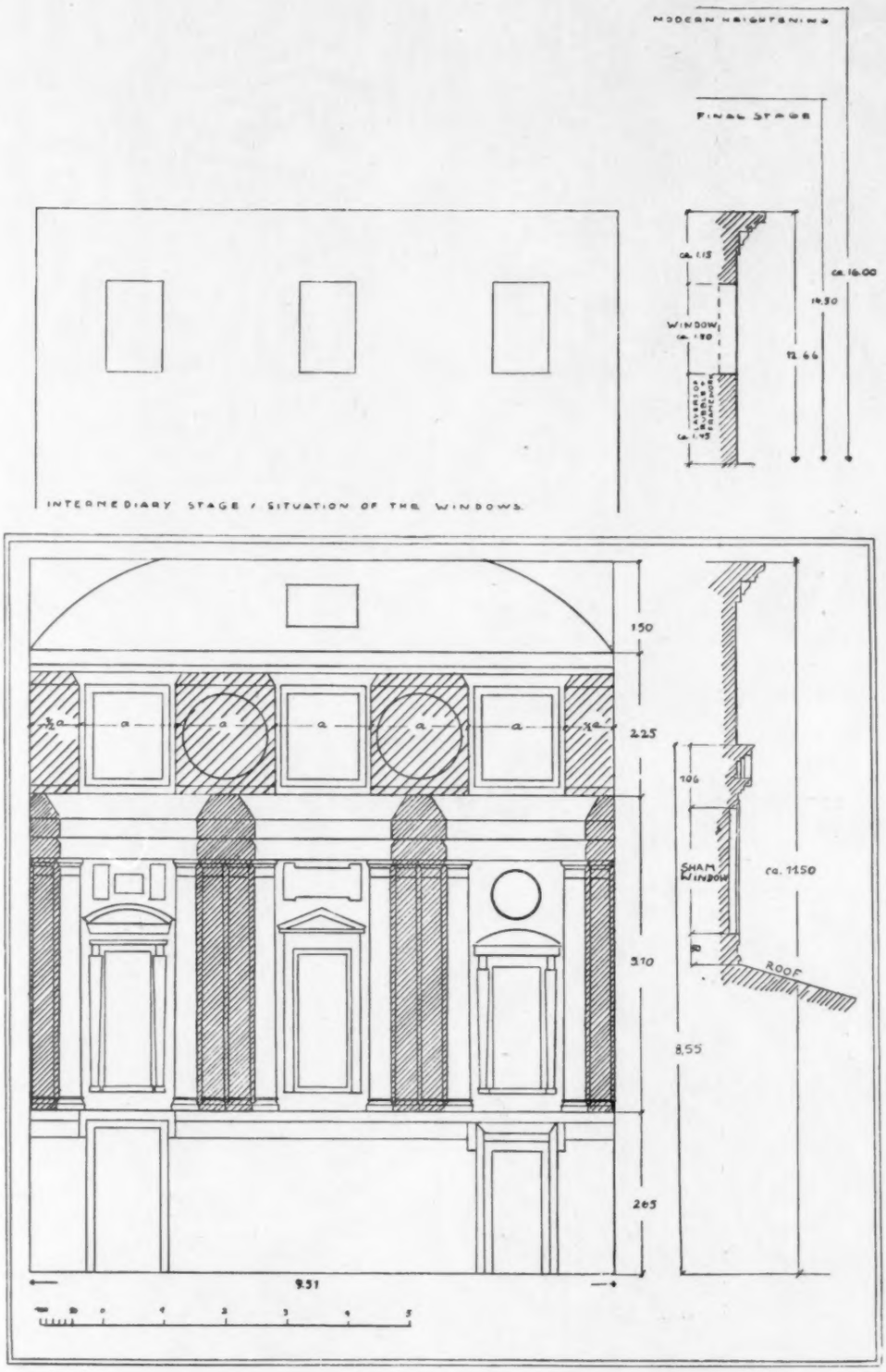

FIG. 12—*Fig. 11 Drawn to Scale, with (at right) Section of the East Wall and (at top) Scheme of Later Stages of Heightening*

FIG. 13—*Second Story of South Wall of the Ricetto Interior*

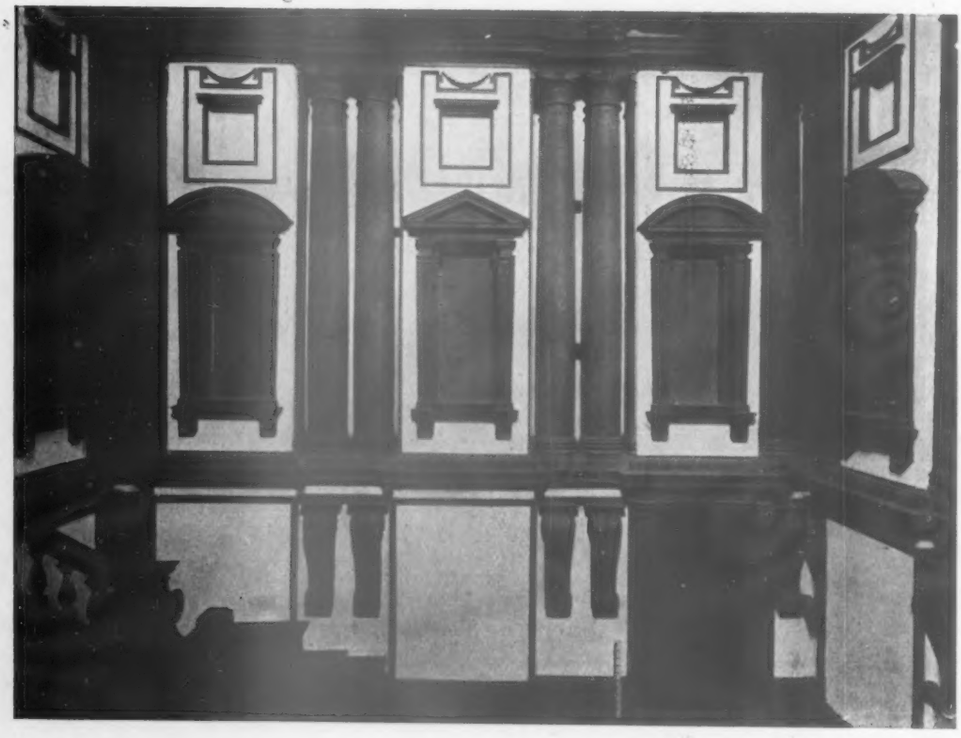

FIG. 14—*West Wall of the Ricetto Interior*

the articulation of the Ricetto proposed after April, 1525, and adhered to until November 29, 1525.

The actuality of the first definite plan for the Ricetto, which in November, 1525, was already partly roofed in, is proved by various observations on the building itself, a drawing and several documents. The letters of November 29 and December 23 have elucidated the reason for the heightening of the building when it was already so far advanced. It is shown that it was not artistic considerations which persuaded Michelangelo of his own accord to change the plan. Rather, were the wishes of the pope decisive; he was not always able to follow Michelangelo's daring ideas.[27] Clearly, not on aesthetic but on purely practical grounds did Clement VII demand proper windows instead of roof lights. The exchange of letters as it has here been reconstructed, makes it obvious that Michelangelo only decided very unwillingly on a change of plan.

The demands made on the artist from November, 1525, onwards, demands against which the inner logic of his own ideas was at first opposed, made the starting point for a completely new orientation. A "creative pause" of several months was, however, necessary to bring the artistic ideas which had been simmering below the surface, consciously to bear on the new solution of the problem. But before this inner process of change set in, Michelangelo thought to arrive at a compromise, speedily abandoned.

IV. From Marzi's letter it can be deduced that the artist in an intermediary solution of the problem sought to save as much as possible of his original idea. He had made the proposal to heighten the Ricetto walls by two "braccia" (1 16 m.). His underlying intentions are not hard to read. Above the main story of 5.10 m. on the first plan was a wall space 4.90 m. high. This height could, on account of the introduction of windows into the wall, only be arranged as one big story. The point of a heightening of exactly two braccia was that the height of the upper story should remain slightly less than that of the main story.

This intermediary stage, in its preservation of the main story as shown in the drawing (Figs. 11, 12), on the one hand, and its introduction of a second story almost as high (Fig. 12, top), on the other, appears from the point of view of artistic development as a necessary link between the first and the final plan, but could not be a final solution of the problem. Taking into consideration all the relevant factors, the inside vertical measurement of the window opening would have been under 1.50 m. Such a height would barely have sufficed, but would not have provided any wealth of light. Further, the window could have opened only at a height of 2.25 m. above the bottom of the second story. Such a long distance between the window opening and this level would have been difficult artistically to accomodate, and equally difficult would it have been to set the compressed window shape in right relation to its vertically elongated rectangular surmount and to the tabernacles of the main story. But these difficulties were quite easily avoidable by a further heightening of the Ricetto walls, involving a heightening also of the base and main stories.

Another consideration was, however, decisive of the fate of the intermediary plan.

27. So far as we can see the first skylight in a modern secular building.

Onto the north wall of the Ricetto butts a chapel of the left transept of S. Lorenzo. The windows of the Ricetto on the north wall had to be placed above the level of this chapel's roof. Following the intermediary plan, windows could have been opened only in the east and west walls; in the north they would have lain too low. Now let us call to mind the old problem of the static security of the walls. Raising the walls higher than the first plan, Michelangelo would fear for their security. But the north wall had such strength that there could be no question of danger to it; also the back, west, wall of the Ricetto could be so strengthened that there would be no reason against heightening and the introduction of windows. Michelangelo's fear could therefore refer only to the east, the façade, wall. Were he to raise the walls higher than intended on the intermediary plan—so high that windows would be possible in the north wall—he could dispense with openings in the east wall. Michelangelo must have been of the opinion that openings endangered the stability of the walls, an opinion that seems hardly understandable to us, but which is confirmed by the authority of the architect G. I. Rossi,[28] reared in the Florentine tradition. Consequently, to Michelangelo the final heightening meant the possibility of putting windows in the north wall instead of in the east wall, and therefore the greater stability of the whole building. From this point of view the condition of the uncompleted façade of the Ricetto with its heightened, windowless wall becomes intelligible.

Assuming that for a period the execution of the intermediary plan (Fig. 12, top) was contemplated, let us look for further traces of it. At least its reflection can, we think, be recognized, in the sketch of a window, Frey 209 (Fig. 16). Here is represented a window frame with adjacent twin pilasters. The final scale must already be assumed. But the position of the window is still too high. Further designs[29] in which the final form of the windows is indicated are sketched without relation to the surrounding architecture.[30] Such a far-reaching reconstruction of the intermediary plan with all its consequences, based merely on the brief note of a proposed wall heightening of two braccia may seem rash. It must, however, be taken into consideration that Michelangelo cannot have adopted this measure arbitrarily, but must have done so for very concrete reasons. Behind it there must be a meaning, and no interpretation of it is apparent other than that here proposed.

V. Now that the changes of plan within the history of the building of the Ricetto have been established so far as is today possible, we must turn to the building itself with another question: has the unfinished Ricetto façade been correctly

28. *La Libreria Mediceo Laurenziana*, Florence, 1739, p. VII: ".... sarebbe la muraglia restata molto interrotta de' vani, e conseguentemente priva del suo bastevol sostegno."

29. Frey, *Handzeichnungen*, pl. 210; and Tolnai, in *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1928, fig. 40.

30. It is not impossible that the layers of rubble to be seen on the uncompleted façade are witness of the intermediary plan. But this theory can only be offered tentatively as a possible explanation. It is to be supposed that Michelangelo in order to relieve the burden of the upper part of the Ricetto façade in the first plan had the compartments between the piers filled with rubble instead of having them bricked right over. This rubble filling was to go as far as the cornice—more than 2 m. The fact that the rubble in the uncompleted façade goes only to 0.55 m. may again be due to the intermediary plan. The windows according to this plan would have been placed exactly where the rubble of the right-hand and middle compartments leaves off. The rubble from the compartments filled to the height of the library had, as a step towards the realization of the intermediary plan, begun to be removed. While this work was in progress the change to the last plan took place, so that in the south compartment a little more rubble remains than in either of the others.

completed? The façade of the first plan can unmistakeably be reconstructed as a continuation of the library façade as it now stands: but uncertainty surrounds the ideas Michelangelo may have entertained for the formation of the façade in the final plan. It is, nevertheless, possible and justifiable to examine critically the façade as it stands today.

The fundamental faults of the reconstruction are traceable to the treatment by the restorers of the uncompleted façade as a homogeneous whole rather than as a stage in the change from one plan to another. A first problem was the south wall of the Ricetto over the library roof (Figs. 2-4). Just at this point it is apparent to how great an extent the plan of building depended on the unity of library and Ricetto, and what difficulties the heightening of the Ricetto involved. The wall dividing Ricetto and library lies, for the most part, behind the northern pier of the library. This could, however, be seen only when the Ricetto was heightened. Then this new Ricetto wall immediately demanded continuation to the ground, which it has only in the pier of the library. Michelangelo has left no indication of how he proposed to get over this difficulty. A second problem was the north angle of the Ricetto wall with its quoining. The master has not here left us any doubt as to his intention. The quoining of the first plan was to disappear under the plaster, in other words: the angle was to be softened, not emphasized as in the first plan. The modern reconstruction carries the northern quoining senselessly up to the roof, and no serious attempt has been made to solve the problem of the south Ricetto wall over the library roof. The latter difficulty seems to have been realized, and an attempt has been made to avoid it by carrying the cornice across the projecting face of the façade only. By this elimination of the side wall from the scheme of the façade, attention is distracted from it. It is particularly significant that the north angle was treated in exactly the same way as the south. But there the emphatic quoining stands out as an inorganic intrusion. At the same time the limitation of the cornice to the façade face gives the building its remarkable flat, stage scenery effect. The idea of this exclusion of the north and south walls from the scheme of the façade was to give the façade an appearence of symmetry; actually it succeeds only in throwing the roof out of the straight.

The next obvious step—in no wise, as has been shown, justified by the condition of the uncompleted wall—was to open three windows in the east façade and to give them a frame comprising a pasticcio of the elements of the interior and of the exterior library windows. The opening of these windows complies at least with the principal intentions of Michelangelo, but, on the other hand, liberties were taken which defy the law of the building's being. The window openings outside were heightened 30 cm. above those inside. The building is 1.60 m. higher than it was when Michelangelo left it. It is these elements primarily which give the upper story of today so marked a preponderance over the lower. This modern heightening was intended to increase the distance between the gables crowning the windows and the cornice; it thus emphasizes the isolation of the box-like Ricetto block from the library building. And that the whole trend is towards the maximum severance of two blocks which are bound closely together in their inmost sense, the new shape of the roof is witness (Fig. 1). Over the rough walls of the Ricetto Michelangelo had left a simple lean-to roof set

at the same angle as that over the library, thus giving a very clear indication that the two blocks belonged together. The old Ricetto roof fell a victim to the modern heightening. The Ricetto is now crowned with a tent-shaped roof, centralized and therefore isolating in effect. So in the all-important roof zone any connection between the one block and the other is at once broken. In the first place, this form of roof accomodates itself ill with any form of asymmetry and should on that account alone never have been used here.

In spite of failure in these various nice points, the modern completion of the façade has admittedly succeeded far better than such restorations are wont to do. To this success is due the fact that erudite scholars believe the present condition of the façade to be the original.[31]

To summarize once more the different elements of which the façade as it was left incomplete consisted: it was the result of two—or three, counting the intermediary stage—different plans. Considering that the building reveals no authentic indication of a possible completion, it can only be concluded that some change in the walls as they were left in the rough was the necessary first step towards their completion. The quoining should have been done away with, the south end of the Ricetto should have been replanned, the taking over of the windows of the lower story into the final plan meant a compromise. It is not rash to conclude that Michelangelo was at heart against the completion of the façade. Literary sources as well as drawings are silent on this point. The only word on this façade is contained in a letter from Ammanati to Cosimo I on February 18, 1559, according to which Ammanati hoped to receive a model of the façade from Michelangelo.[32] We do not know whether or not the aged master expressed himself again on this point.

Analysis of the Various Schemes for Library and Ricetto

We have sufficient documentary evidence to be well informed regarding the earliest controversies between the pope and Michelangelo as to the choice of the site and the beginning of the building.[33] But what is more important, our recent researches enable us to rearrange the few extant drawings of Michelangelo's and throw new light on the development of his artistic conception.

I. The elevation Casa Buonarroti no. 42 (Fig. 17) is believed by Frey (199) and Thode[34] to belong to the Ricetto; Tolnai,[35] on the other hand, thinks it is a sketch for the interior articulation of the library itself. This sketch seems, in fact, to be one of the earliest ideas preserved for the interior articulation of the library, of a time when as yet nothing had been decided as to the Ricetto plan.[36] But the

31. Woelfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, newly revised by Hans Rose, 1926, p. 127, fig. 69. In the edition of 1908 this façade was not mentioned. Tolnai analyzed the façade as Michelangelo's work in *Repertorium f. Kunstwissenschaft*, 1927, pp. 192ff., fig. 23, but corrected himself in *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1928, p. 433. The modern completion of the façade is noticed neither by Tolnai in Thieme-Becker, XXIV, p. 520, nor by Marangoni, *La Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Firenze*, 1922, p. 79.

32. Gaye, *Carteggio*, III, p. 12.

33. See Appendix, III.

34. *Krit. Untersuchungen*, II, p. 124; III, no. 173.

35. *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1928, p. 402.

36. Drawn between January and April, 1524 (see below). Tolnai concludes on the ground of this plan that Michelangelo at first meant to make the library similar to the Ricetto. He reverses the sequence of plans, of which there is documentary evidence.

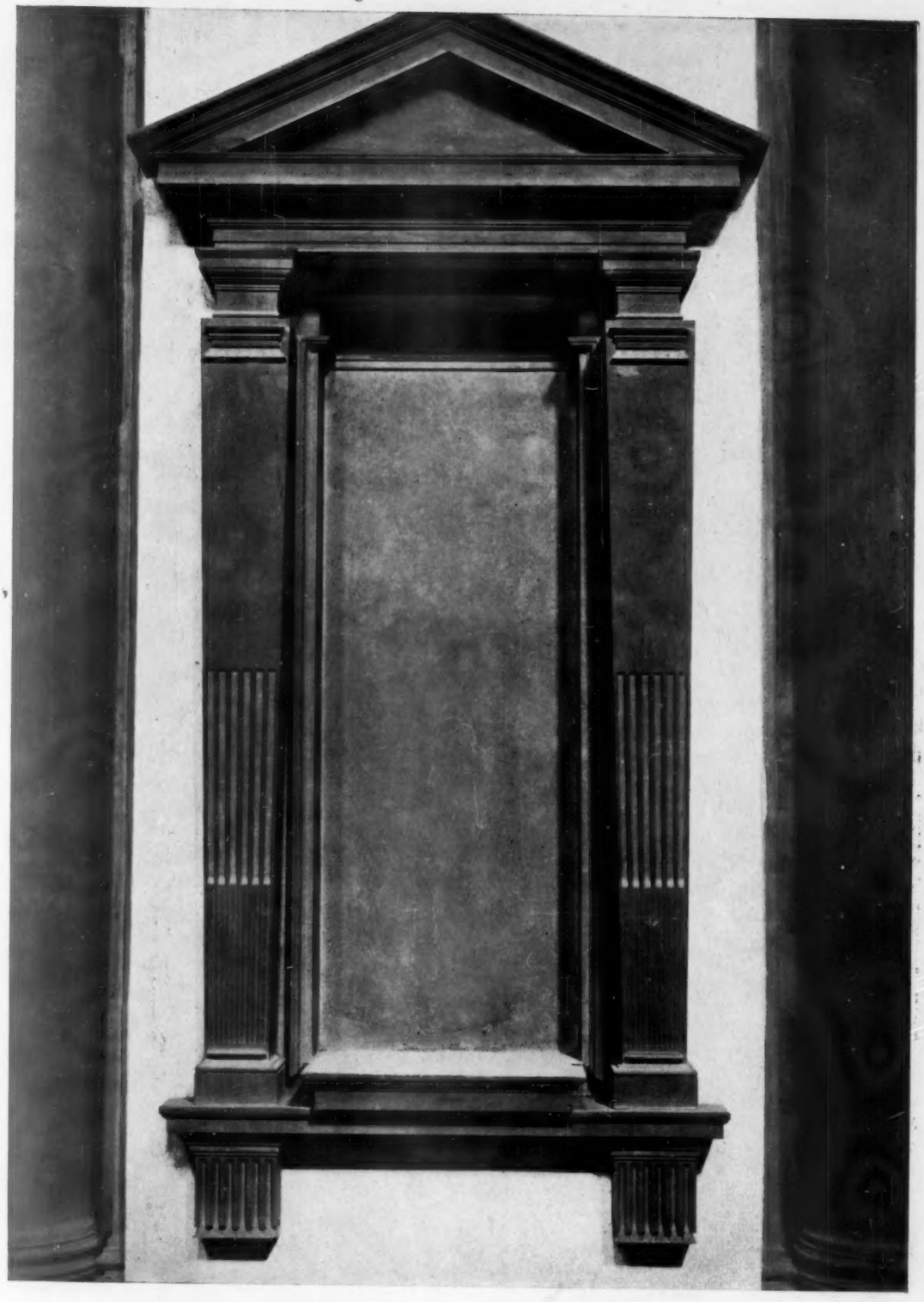

FIG. 15—*Tabernacle of the Main Story of the Ricetto Interior*

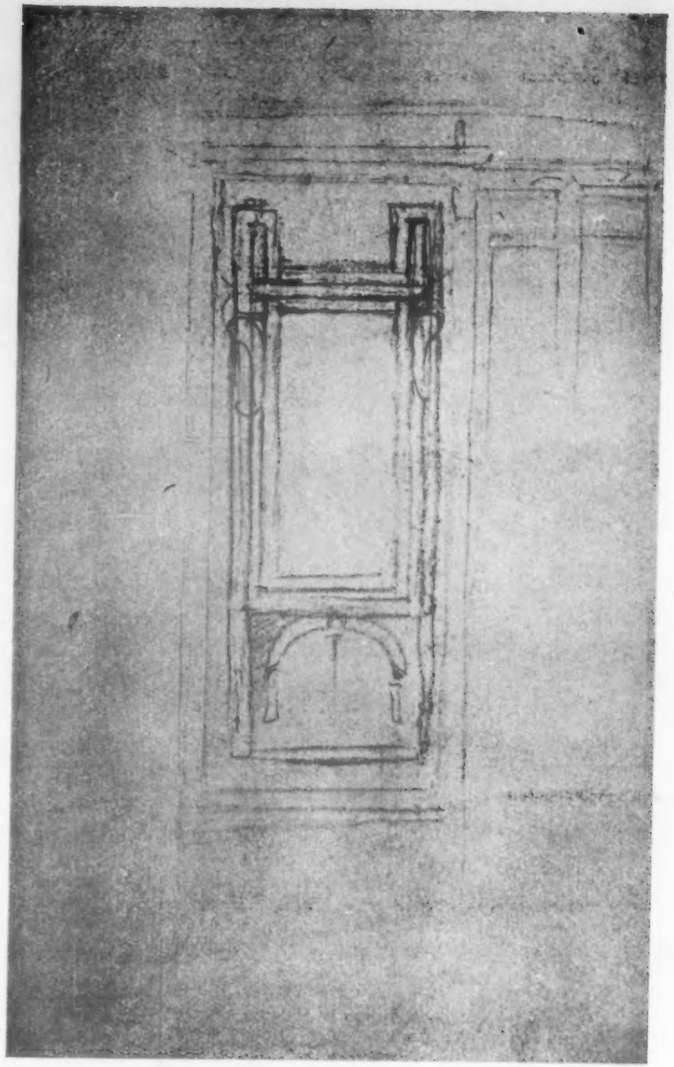

FIG. 16—*Sketch for a Window of the Second Story of the Ricetto Interior (Casa Buonarroti 3—Frey 209)*

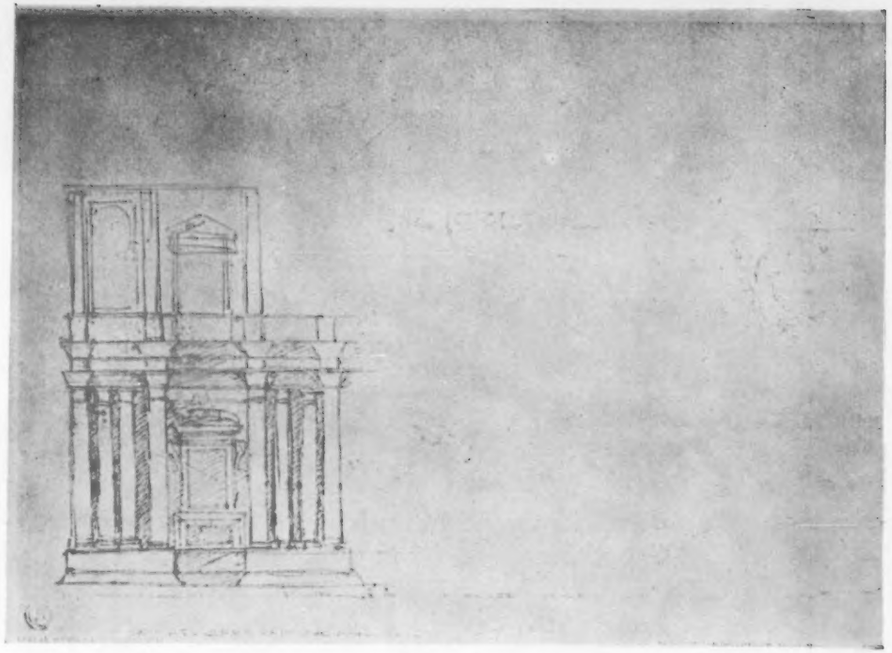

FIG. 17—*First Scheme for the Library Interior (Casa Buonarroti 42—Frey 199)*

interpretation of this sheet is complicated by a detail which cannot be overlooked. The original outline in red chalk has been traced with a pen by Michelangelo. In doing this he not only failed to trace over the continuation of the design on the right—the next sham window is visible in the red only—but he also neglected the third story indicated on the extreme left. Horizontally, further pen outlining was unnecessary, as the design simply repeated itself: if in the elevation only two stories were traced in ink, the faint red outline of a third can be looked upon as no more than a passing idea, already abandoned during the execution of the pencil drawing.[87] Only by disregarding this third story can we connect the drawing with the library. For it is inconceivable that Michelangelo should seriously have contemplated a three-storied interior elevation for the library. Apart from aesthetic considerations, such an idea would have been discouraged from the beginning by the problem of strain which all the time compelled the master to keep the height of the library within certain bounds.

We must, therefore, start the interpretation of this drawing from a hypothesis: we must take the present height of the library to be the height of that part of the drawing traced with a pen, and see whether the elevation then holds good. The main story, which tallies to a great extent with that of drawing 234 (Fig. 11), is—as shown by the pen shading—furnished with sham windows. Real windows are proposed only in the upper story. The sham windows are set, taking base and parapet together, at a height of approximately 1.50 m. By reason of the position of the cloister roof, the minimum height at which real windows could be opened is 2.50 m. from the floor of the library. There is, accordingly, no small difficulty attached to the opening of windows in the lower story. The arrangement of the windows on the drawing Frey 199 (Fig. 17) is a strong argument in favor of the relation of the paper to the library. It can, moreover, be shown that the first ideas entertained by Michelangelo for the articulation of the library *must* have lain in this direction. In the scheme under consideration (Fig. 17) the base measures about 75 cm. This low base, and the movement of the whole wall articulation, would have made it impossible to place the desks against the wall, as they were, in fact, placed. Therefore, underlying this wall articulation must be the idea of having, besides the necessary passage down the middle of the room, side passages along the walls. A letter from Fattucci to Michelangelo of April 3, 1526, says that the pope wants the ceiling of the library to be divided to correspond with the divisions of the floor, and indeed "che come in tera sono tre vie, che mettono in mezo due ordini di banchi, cosi vorebe fussi nel palco."[88] Here it is plainly stated that the two long rows of desks are to be flanked by three passages. Now, however, at the date of this letter the final form of the library articulation had already been decided for a long time—nearly two years—and it is a decisive testimony to the nature of the final program that the passages beside the windows could be abandoned.

A word must be said in explanation of the nature and meaning of the wall division. In the actual building (Fig. 18) Michelangelo severed, right round the library with

37. On this indication of a third story literature provides no comment.

38. Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 279.

the exception of the door frames at either end, a plain base of 1.49 m. from the architectural shape of the whole. It is above this neutral zone that the orders begin. The plan of this base could only have been conceived in connection with the idea of putting the desks against the wall to fit into the base. What is the significance of this plan? Entering the library today the visitor apprehends from the floor of the central passage on which he stands the whole height of the room; but he sees the foreshortening of the benches in perspective, at the level of their upper surface, as a second floor, from which springs the articulation of the walls. In this way it became possible to place the lights just as low as the cloister roof allowed—that is 2.50 m. above the floor of the library; thus, also, the master could give the room, by means of one giant order, the uniform, severe character which seems desirable for the repose of a library, without thereby making the long room appear unduly low, for from the central passage one is always conscious of its real height. Finally, by the elimination of side passages space was gained for the disposal of books—a problem which stands in the forefront of every discussion.

This extraordinarily ingenious combination of practical and aesthetic demands, which gives the library, together with a clear, structural framework, its character of foresight and clarity, is the outcome of a process of thought the intricacy of which is today hardly conceivable. The idea of incorporating the desks as a constituent element in the architecture is a veritable "Columbus's egg." It is self-evident that Michelangelo must have started with the idea of placing the desks in an already complete room. On the other hand, the ultimate arrangement unmistakeably includes them in the construction of the walls. The pope's demand in the letter of April 3, 1526, shows that in Rome Michelangelo's conception had not been fully understood: when the pope speaks of the arrangement of the two rows of desks between three passages, he must have in mind a plan already set aside in April, 1524, according to which the desks were still to stand free in the room.

Sheet Frey 199 (Fig. 17) shows the definitive elements which must have been part of the first phase of designs for the library. Further enquiry makes it possible to place the sheet more accurately in the course of development. Actually, from this point we must work *a posteriori*, for no other internal elevations of the library have, so far as we know, been preserved.

II. The scheme next in time shows the wall articulation of the Ricetto (Fig. 19). The authenticity of the paper preserved in Haarlem is disputed by Tolnai.[39] The very problematical question of the authenticity of this will solve itself in the course of a detailed analysis of the meaning of the representation. Hitherto, no serious attempt has been made really to interpret the designs of this sheet. In this connection we shall deal only with the designs on its left-hand side (not with the ground plans, sketched later).

39. *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1928, p. 402. Never questioned in previous literature. See Marcuard, *Die Zeichnungen Michelangelos im Teyler-Museum zu Haarlem*, pl. 12; and Woelfflin in *Repertorium f. Kunstwissenschaft*, 1901, p. 320, who first connected the sketches of the sheet with the Ricetto. Further, Geymüller, p. 48; Thode, II, p. 122, 133, III, no. 260; Frey-Knapp, no. 315; Panofsky in *Repertorium f. Kunstwissenschaft*, 1927, p. 37. The other side of the sheet with sketches of legs is not by Michelangelo. The left-hand half of the sheet concerns us most. On the right reversed is a small plan, and the elevation of a single division of the wall—belonging together and having, it seems, some connection with the drawing on the left.

FIG. 18—*Interior of the Library, from Ricetto Door*

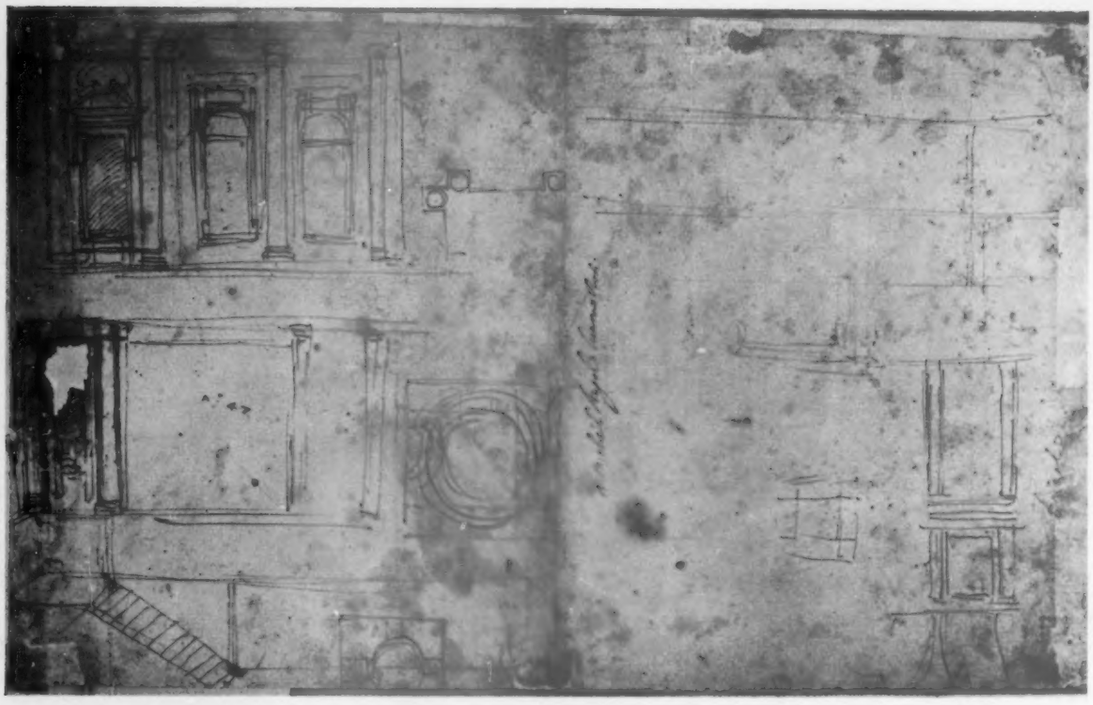

FIG. 19—*First Scheme for the Ricetto (Haarlem, Teyler Museum—Frey-Knapp 315)*

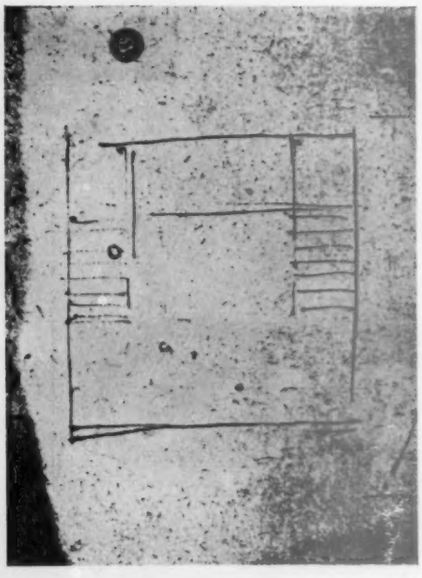

FIG. 20—*Plan for the Ricetto with Stairs against the Walls (Archivio Buonarroti—after Tolnai)*

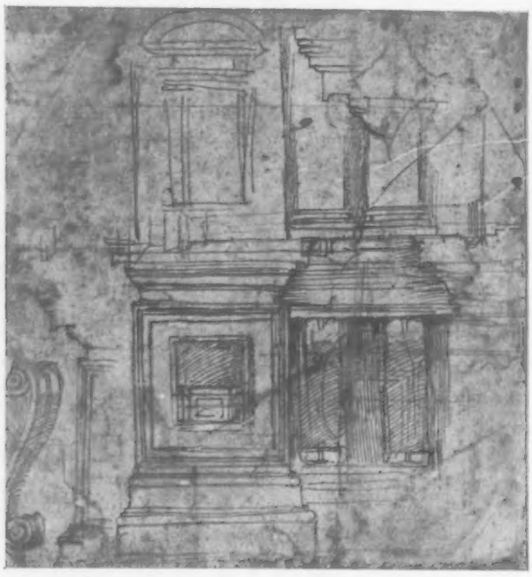

FIG. 21—*Differentiation of the Ricetto Base in its Final Form (British Museum 1895-9-15-508—Frey 118)*

The lower of the two designs is composed of three elements: at the bottom a base with the staircase, above it a second, shorter base, finally a story divided by orders. This story alone is repeated above on a rather larger scale, so that the fourth frame on the right—a repetition of that on the extreme left—is not drawn again. Taking for the lower view a scale based on the total breadth of 9.50 m., the height of the base is about 2.50 m., a height which corresponds approximately with that of Frey 234 (Fig. 11). That this is the height intended for the base is shown also in the frame of the thirteen steps, which must have a height of about 13 × 19 cm. The length of the staircase on this scale would be 3.50 m.—that is twelve treads of 29 cm. each. It is evident that the draftsman, in spite of the sketchy nature of the outline, had the "sesto nell'occhio," the scale was adhered to throughout. The height of the remarkable second base can be given as 1.80-2 m. The distance from the bottom of the main story to the bottom of the window openings can be taken from the upper detailed drawing. It is about 1 m. The total of the three measurements up to the opening of the window lights is 5.30-5.50 m.

The library windows could be opened only at a minimum height of 5.50 m. above the floor of the cloister passage, which is on the same level as that of the Ricetto. It must be considered whether there is a significant connection between this fact and the intention shown on the Haarlem drawing of putting windows at this height in the Ricetto. We are of the opinion that there is no question here of coincidence, but that within the first phase of the plan an attempt was made to give the Ricetto proper windows. The idea of articulating the Ricetto outside and in together with the library is a natural one from which to start.

If this is the case, we should be able to infer from the articulation of the Haarlem sketches Michelangelo's plan for the library at the same stage. This track must now be followed up. The impracticable attempt to place the Ricetto windows at this height can only be understood as part of the intention to continue the window frontage of the library. At this stage the library windows must have been planned already in the final position: 2.50 m. above the library floor. Moreover, in the light of our earlier conclusions, inside the library a lower neutral base and a giant order were proposed. Further, the library articulation of this phase can be reconstructed in detail. The Haarlem designs do not deal with four uniformly ordered divisions in the main story, but the outer divisions stand forward of the two inner ones. The latter are bound together by columns, and separated from the outer divisions, which are enclosed in pilasters.[40] The distinction between the two sets of divisions is made clearer also by a different form and head for the windows. In each outer division is a rectangular window with broken gable and applied framework such as is today on the exterior; the pair of windows in the middle division have, on the other hand, semicircular gables and a vertical projection of the framework.[41]

40. The plan on the right above does not belong to the adjoining elevation. It was drawn later and shows the state actually constructed. That in the elevation on the outside pilasters and on the inside columns are intended is evident from the genesis of all library and Ricetto plans. The pilasters are always brought forward of the columns. See also note 76.

41. In the much later design for the windows of the upper story (Fig. 16), made after the intermediary stage Michelangelo returned to the frame motif of this time. The question must at least be raised whether in the Haarlem drawing windows are planned only in the outer divisions and niches in the central divisions. This possibility seems to be supported by

So here the rhythmical accentuation of the first plan for the library (Fig. 17; Frey 199) is changed: instead of *a-b-a-b-a*, now *a-bb-a bb-a*. Having recalled the appearance of the library plan at a stage following the earliest two-storied plan, it immediately becomes obvious that the intensively articulated earliest plan (Fig. 17) was not at once followed by the simple arrangement of the final conception. Stages with rhythmical arrangements lie between—stages in the assimilation of the divisions into their ultimate homogeneity.

If Michelangelo was attempting to articulate the Ricetto in the same way as the library, the construction of two bases as shown on the Haarlem paper became automatically necessary. The union of the two bases in one single story of some 4.50 m. was, in consideration of the doors, the staircase, and the proportions of the walls, impossible. But even this construction of a twofold base could only be an experiment, logical in its origin but destined for elucidation only, never for execution. Its hasty elucidation in the Haarlem sketches must have convinced the master that the different conditions of the two problems made the unity of Ricetto and library unattainable. It was evident that windows in the walls to continue the line of the library windows could not be constructed. The Haarlem sketches are witness of a necessary and remarkable stage which Michelangelo had to go through before he submitted to the inevitable separation of the inner and outer articulation of the Ricetto.

It is important to ascertain the time of Michelangelo's arrival at the essentially temporary solution of the library problem as seen on the Haarlem paper. The staircase makes its exact dating possible. On April 29, 1524, Fattucci writes from Rome: "Et circa alle scale gli [i. e. the pope] piace assaj la salita di dua scale."[42] This gives us the date *ante quem* for the Haarlem paper. Michelangelo's first plan for the library arrived in Rome on January 21, 1524.[43] The receipt of further plans was acknowledged from Rome on the 10th of March and 13th of April, 1524. The first library plan (Frey 199) belongs, provided that it was actually traced for the pope, to one of these first transmissions; it must have been soon followed by the Haarlem paper. Light is thus thrown upon a very early phase of the development of Michelangelo's ideas, and it is remarkable that in it the problem of the library is already in principle solved.

III. Only on the basis of the Haarlem design can a further Casa Buonarroti plan, Frey 72 (Fig. 22), be understood and connected with the wall articulation of the Ricetto; and this in its turn bears witness to the genuineness of the Haarlem paper. This new plan is documentary evidence of the decisive step of the independent articulation of the Ricetto and its separation from the arrangement of the façade, but the elements of the Haarlem conception are in every respect clearly recognizable.

First of all, in both cases the wall consists of four divisions, so that not a window (more accurately a niche) but a column comes in the middle of the wall.

the straight molding running across below the semicircular heading. It is, however, more likely that these lines represent pentimenti reducing the central windows to a size corresponding to that of the outer two. This alteration is not only in accord with subsequent development, but the library can only in this phase be reconstructed with a close sequence of windows. The pope himself demanded as many windows as possible. See Fattucci's letter of January, 30, 1524 (Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 209).

42. See below, p. 155.

43. See Appendix, III.

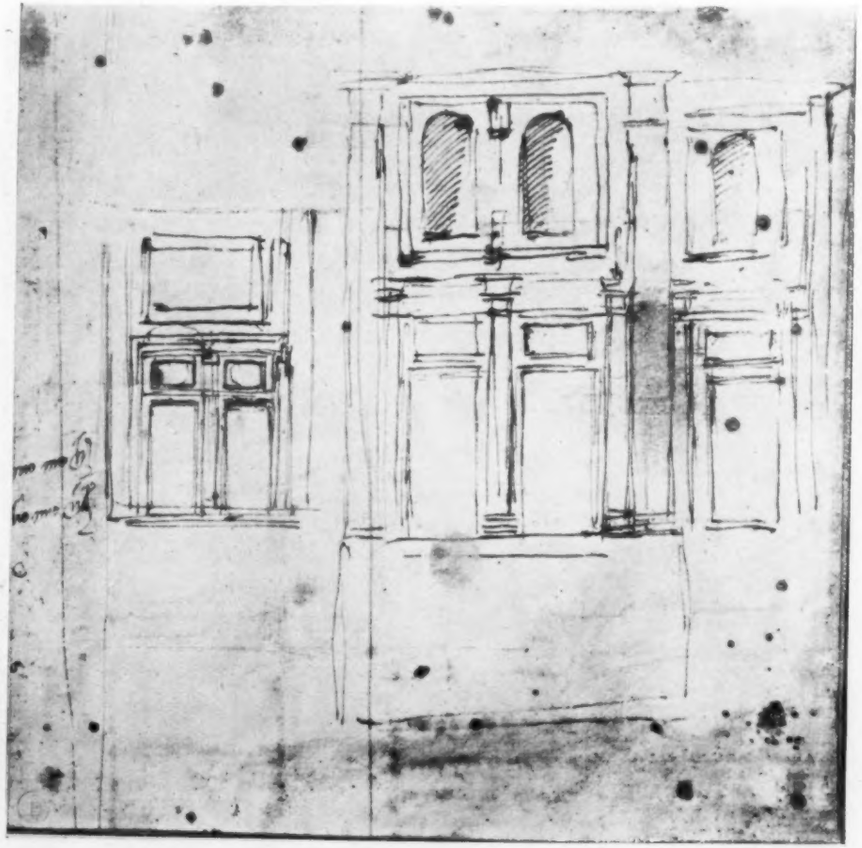

FIG. 22—*Second Scheme for the Ricetto (Casa Buonarroti 89—Frey 72)*

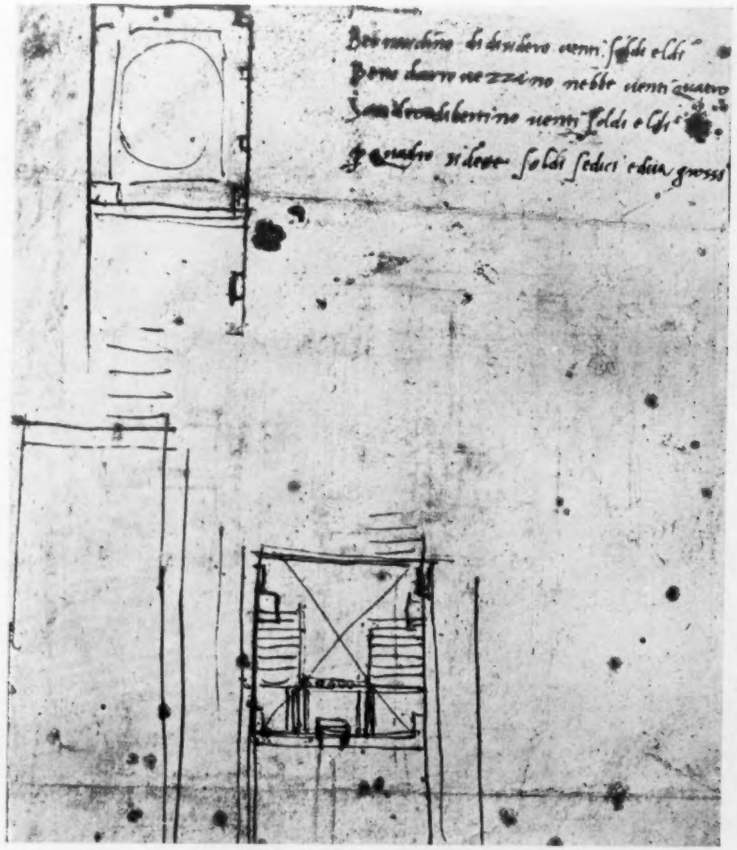

FIG. 23—*Plan of the Ricetto with Stairs against the Walls and "Cappella" at the South End of the Library (Casa Buonarroti 89—Frey 71)*

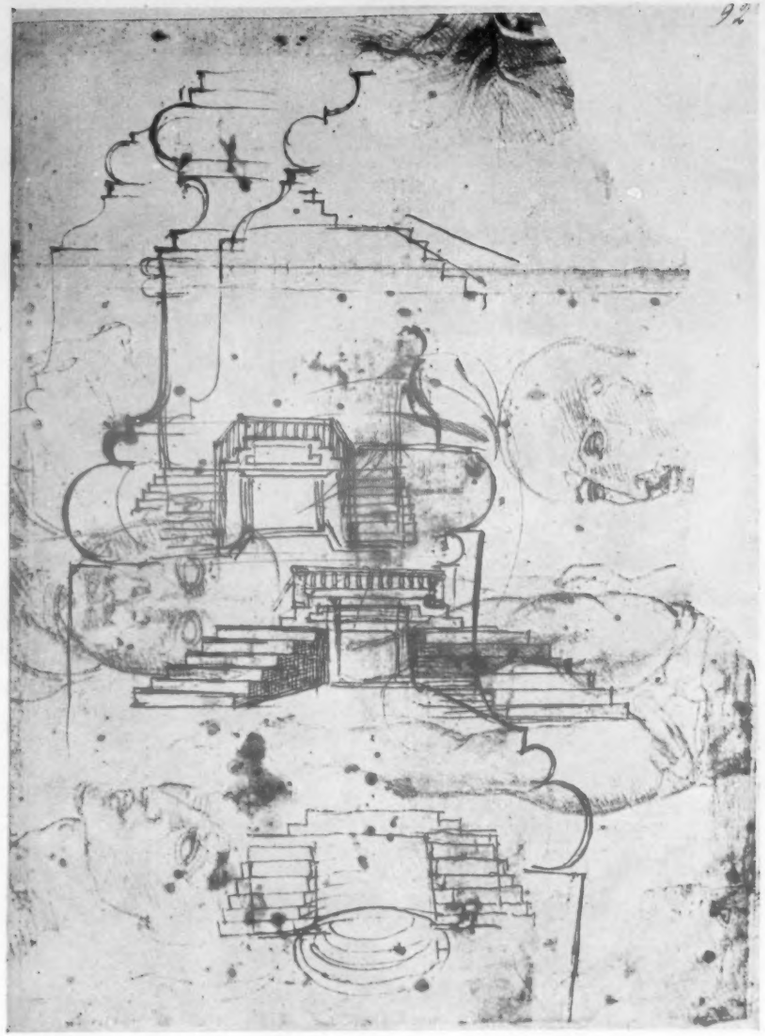

FIG. 24—*Sketches for Staircase*
(*Casa Buonarroti 92—Frey 165*)

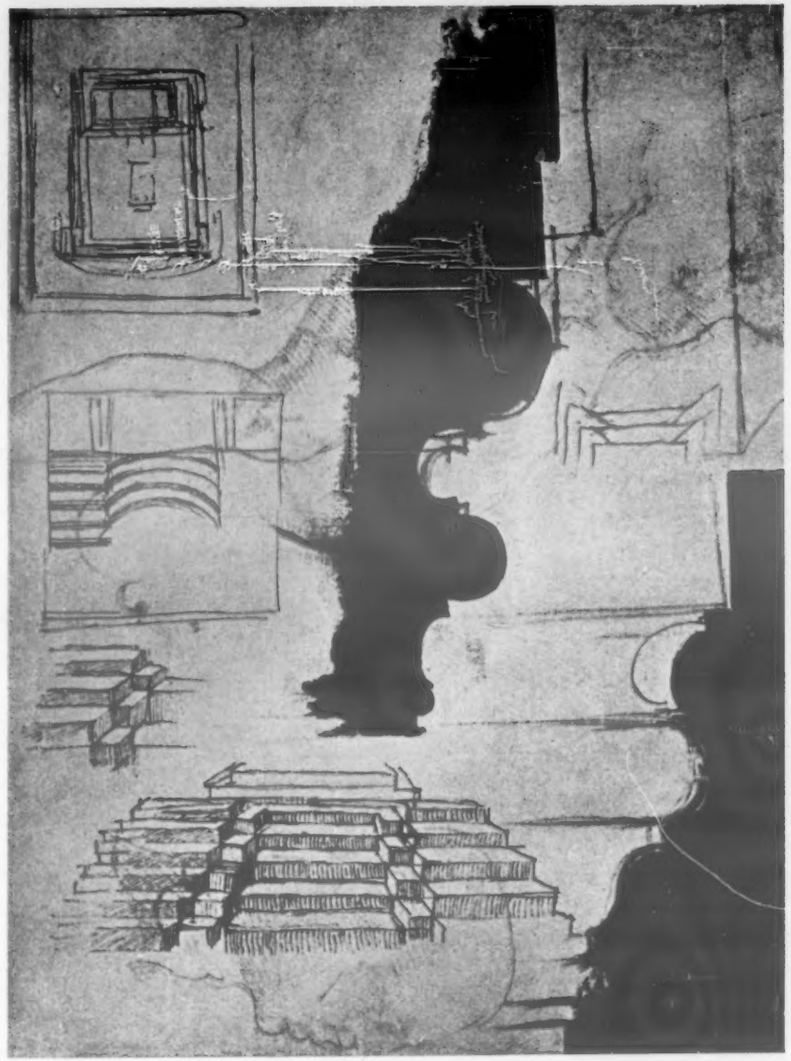

FIG. 25—*Sketches for Staircase*
(*Casa Buonarroti 92—Frey 164*)

This rare motif has occasioned Geymüller to hold the Casa Buonarroti paper for a design by Michelangelo for the façade of S. Spirito. But this attribution becomes untenable as soon as the relationship of the paper to the Haarlem design with the articulation in four divisions is recognized.[44] The new articulation is quite clearly developed from that of the Haarlem paper. The second base is, as must logically follow, taken into the main story,[45] so that the order now rests directly on the base against which the staircase is placed. The great height of the new story—more than 7 m.—had to be horizontally articulated. So now the giant pilasters bind the story into a unity, while the columns occupy some $^4/_7$ of the whole height, allowing space above them for a peculiar niche articulation, which becomes, as it were, a second story.[46] As in the Haarlem sketches, so here the two middle frames are bound together; but whereas the outer frames are there brought forward of the middle *with* the pilasters, here the outer frames lie in a deeper plane than the forward-standing center, which is quite clearly enclosed by the giant pilasters.

Only on this interpretation can one understand why all the lines of the middle divisions are continued some millimeters lower in the outer frame (drawn only on the right). The position of the rectangular base below the middle frames convincingly shows that the giant pilasters belong to the forward-standing center. This raised center is just twice as broad as each outer division. And even this relationship of the side divisions to the middle is shown on the Haarlem sketches.[47] If the singular arrangement of the four divisions, the linking up of the two middle ones, the relation of the middle to the sides, and, finally, the logically developed order itself suffice to establish the strong genetic connection between the Casa Buonarroti paper and the earlier one from Haarlem, yet the former does, on the other hand, contain completely new elements. There are here no windows in the walls. In the upper part of the main story are placed semicircle-headed crowning niches.[48] And below these in both frames real doors are indicated. Michelangelo on this paper has not as usual shown the west wall, but the south wall dividing library and Ricetto. On the four-division plan, a division of the wall lies in the axis of the library, double doors must, therefore, open into the room. These double doors are drawn out again on a smaller scale on the left. An attempt is here made to give a special character to the double doors with a circular motif and the indication of surmounting round arches; the rectangle above may be taken as the space to be left for the inscription. With the new windowless wall articulation a division was possible which could not be considered at the stage of the Haarlem paper. The height of doors and windows was there fixed, and it was impossible to bring them

44. Although there are, indeed, some remarkable coincidences between the measurements of S. Spirito and of this elevation (which Geymüller does not mention), yet the rectangular base below the double division of the center actually makes any reference to S. Spirito impossible. On the scale of S. Spirito the base would be approximately 8 m. high!

45. The height of the secondary base plus that of the main story on the Haarlem sheet is approximately that of the giant story of sheet 72.

46. Thode and Frey speak always of giant columns instead of giant pilasters. This must be a mistake. See the later use of the same motifs on the Capitoline buildings.

47. Frey believed, incorrectly, that on the Casa Buonarroti sheet the whole wall lies in one plane. Tolnai's analysis is intelligible only on the presumption that he made the same mistake (*Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1928, p. 402, fig. 19). See below, note 64.

48. Not windows, as Thode thought: these would be impossible here.

into happy relation to one another. Now the door opening 3 m. high fixes not only the height of the base, but also that of the tabernacles in the outer divisions, which follow the form of the doors.[49] We know that the idea of making doors and tabernacles correspond was decisive of the first final plan.[50]

Since on the elevation Frey 72 (Fig. 22) windows in the wall are not contemplated and are, indeed, not possible, we must conclude that here already the insertion of roof lights is being contemplated. Between the Haarlem elevation and this one lie the mutually complementary and transforming ideas: independence of the interior articulation from the form of the façade, and the lighting of the interior by roof lights. So the position is reached whence the last form of the first plan can be arrived at. If the master in the first instance (Frey 72) has developed the general articulation from that of the Haarlem sketches, he now goes right over to that which makes full use of the freedom he has been granted. In Frey 234 (Fig. 11) he falls back upon the arrangement originally planned for the library (Fig. 17; Frey 199) and takes it over with characteristic inflections to the articulation of the Ricetto.[51] Thus was evolved the final articulation of the first plan.

An approximate date for the change of idea of which Frey 72 (Fig. 22) is evidence can be deduced from the following reflections: The *post quem* date must be April 29, 1524. Till April, 1525, the problems of the Ricetto detail are evidently in the background; they become prominent again only in connection with the staircase. Since the situation of the Haarlem paper represents no practicable solution, but is quickly put aside, it can be concluded that Frey 72 belongs to the spring or summer of 1524, while the final elevation of the first plan came only after April, 1525. With the change represented in Frey 72 the independence of the inner articulation of the library naturally develops. The conscious opposition between library and Ricetto forms which was finally achieved is not yet in view. This arrangement of the papers on the ground of internal and external evidence reveals a progressive interpenetration, clarification, and differentiation of themes leading up to the conclusion of the first plan.

IV. The transition from this final form of the first plan to the plan actually carried out is traceable not only in the studies of window details for the upper story, already referred to, but also—and in a decisive phase—in a sheet from the British Museum (Fig. 21; Frey 118/9), dealing with the important differentiation of the base in its final form. This sheet is not the sketch of a first idea, but the working-out of an idea which has already taken definite shape. On the back of the sheet, anterior in time to the drawings on the front, are seven variations for the molding at the bottom of the base (upper center and right-hand side); and, later in time than the drawings of the front, five different sketches for the existing rich molding of the bases of the main story's columns (upper left and right, left border, lower middle).[52] This sheet's only deviation

49. The base is slightly heightened in comparision with that of the Haarlem sheet. The tabernacle of the outer division is clearly marked as such by the lines completing it at the bottom—which have no counterpart on the doors.

50. A slight diminution of the height of the base later on left doors and tabernacle standing free on the surface of the wall.

51. Instead of the breathing space allowed to each column in the long hall, here they are packed closely together. Instead of the row of isolated projecting pilasters, here concentration is effected in the connection of pairs of pilasters by the projecting cornice above each tabernacle.

52. Compare the bases of columns in sheet 234 with only one small hollow molding.

from the actual construction is an attempt to place niches in the base below the tabernacles of the main story—an idea which was later abandoned. The sketches of this London sheet are dateable exactly to the time of the change of plan, the end of February, 1526. To this time also belong the big profile drawings of the base on sheet Frey 164/5 (Figs. 24, 25) with the stair design of April, 1525.[53] This brings us to the end of the supply of drawings illustrating the development of Ricetto and library.[54]

The Staircase

In research into the history of the Biblioteca Laurenziana the main interest has always been the staircase. Panofsky's work[55] has solved important problems of its later fate: but so many questions still remain open that it will be as well to set out the whole sequence of events.

I. On the plan acknowledged by Fattucci March 10, 1524,[56] Michelangelo himself had apparently left it uncertain how he intended to deal with the difference in floor level between Ricetto and library. He was to send a drawing showing the steps. The receipt of this drawing—again demanded on April 3, 1524—was acknowledged by Fattucci on the 29th of April.[57]

II. The drawing of the staircase to which Fattucci referred on the 29th of April shows two wings: "la salita di dua scale." The plan of this double stair we can, with Tolnai,[58] recognize in an Archivio Buonarroti paper (Fig. 20). To this same stage belongs the view of the stair shown on the Haarlem paper (Fig. 19). The agreement of view and plan consists in the almost exact coincidence in the two cases of the measurements of stair landing, staircase length, and free space at the foot of the stairs.[59]

In this plan Michelangelo had gone back to an arrangement time-honored in sacred buildings: twin stairways, placed left and right, leading to a raised choir, and embracing between them the entrance to the crypt.[60] This connection with the well known theme of sacred buildings is made even clearer by the marking in later sketches (III, V) of a doorway between the two stairways. Buontalenti's staircase for SS. Trinità (now in S. Stefano, Florence; Fig. 42), derived from Michelangelo's Laurentian plans, even shows Michelangelo's secular plan retranslated for use in a sacred building.

For nearly a year—till the beginning of April, 1525—the problems of the stair lie fallow. Meanwhile, questions are settled concerning contract and foundations; work is started, the skeleton building is raised and the library with its detail begun.

53. On the subject of this drawing see below, p. 157. Frey 164 (Fig. 25) with sketches for the stairs was reversed and to the sheet were added not only the two big molding drawings on the left, but also a section of the base comprising a niche similar to Frey 118 (Fig. 21).

54. Sheet British Museum 1895-9-15-507 (Frey 120a), formerly referred to the Ricetto, has been justifiably rejected by Popp in *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1927, p. 405, note 9.

55. In *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1922, pp. 262ff.

56. On the letter of March 10 see Appendix, III, 2 d. This letter runs that the pope remains "un poco di dubbio, e questo si è la scala per salire le sei braccia." The difference in level between Ricetto and library is in fact only a little more than 5 braccia.

57. See Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 226.

58. *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1928, p. 400, fig. 17.

59. As Tolnai excludes the Haarlem drawing he overlooks the connection between plan and elevation.

60. Tolnai is here reminded of the steep single flight of stairs in the mediaeval courtyard (Bargello) and sees the novelty of Michelangelo's idea in its duplication. But it is not possible to regard the former as the genetic origin of the latter.

III. On the 12th of April, 1525, Fattucci communicated the pope's wish to have, instead of the twin stairs against the walls, a single staircase which should cover the whole breadth of the Ricetto.[61] This newly awakened interest in the staircase is probably consequent on Michelangelo's own renewed preoccupation with it, and his having sent to Rome new proposals on the ideas which had been simmering at the back of his mind for a year. Only as answer to this can the pope's sudden thought for the stair plans be explained.

Two stair drawings by Michelangelo fall significantly into the general scheme if they may be supposed to be dated shortly before the 12th of April: the Ricetto ground plan Casa Buonarroti 89 (Fig. 23; Frey 71) and the elevation belonging to it to be seen at the top of no. 92 of the same collection (Fig. 24; Frey 165). The dating of both papers shortly before April 12, 1525, is encouraged by their very close relation to the sketches of ideas for the stair (IV-VI) which can only have been made after the 12th of April.[62]

The attribution of ground plan and elevation to the beginning of April, 1525, is confirmed by a ground plan on Frey 71, on the meaning of which no agreement has hitherto been reached. This is the oblong rectangular plan of a vaulted room, articulated with pilasters and pillars at the angles, in the top left-hand corner of the paper. In another connection (see p. 181) proof is forthcoming that this outline is of shortly before April 12, 1525, and that all three ground plans on the paper were made at one and not at various times.

Of the form of the stairs contemplated in the spring of 1524 (II) no alteration in principle has been made. The twin stairs against the walls are retained. Michelangelo contented himself with a monumentalization and differentiation of the old themes.[63] The width of each flight of stairs is now about 2.50-3 m. as against the earlier 2 m. The breadth had to be correspondingly enlarged. The big landing, widened in comparison with that planned in the spring of 1524, is now divided into three. From the landings in the axis of the stairs three or four steps lead to that before the library door. So that up to the middle landing there are in all $9+3$ or $9+4$ steps. It can hardly be doubted that these reach to the level of the cornice crowning the base of the Ricetto. The plan shows three more steps on the middle landing in front of the library door. The big middle landing must, therefore, be less than 3 m. high (difference in level between Ricetto and library floors).

On the other side of this sheet is the elevation Frey 72 (Fig. 22). Tolnai would recognize in the two sides of the sheet ground plan and elevation of the same design. This is, however, impossible. The ground plan shows only one door into the library, while the elevation, as we have seen, shows two. Further, there is no correspondence between the length of the staircase on the ground plan and the articulation of the

61. Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 250.

62. Frey, 71, regards the reference of the plan to the Ricetto as uncertain. Thode, *Krit. Unt.*, II, p. 121-2, III, no. 135, correctly dates the plan April, 1525. Tolnai, *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1928, p. 407, note 28, fig. 18, places this plan as well as that of Archivio Buonarroti (II) before April 29, 1524. Tolnai was the first to recognize the connection between plan Frey 71 and elevation Frey 165 (above). But he dates the drawings on Frey 165 *en bloc* "approximately April 12, 1525", and thus leaves a gap of nearly a year between plan and elevation. In his article in Thieme-Becker, on the other hand, he allows the elevation on Frey 165 to have been made together with the plan before April 29, 1524. He thus separates the elevation from the other sketches on the sheet which he attributes to April, 1525.

63. See Tolnai, *loc. cit.*

elevation.[64] Reasons have already been given why the elevation Frey 72 must have been drawn by the summer of 1524. The ground plan of April, 1525, with a single door, already necessitates the fivefold articulation of the wall. Not only in this connection is the elevation which would correspond to the ground plan Frey 71 (Fig. 23) similar to plan 234 (Fig. 11), but the reconstrution of the landing height allows the conclusion that the base is of the same height as that of the first definite plan.

IV. A ground plan which, in accordance with the papal demands of April 12, 1525, shows a stair filling the whole breadth of the Ricetto is to be found in the middle left of Frey 164 (Fig. 25).[65] Here the connection with the ground plan on Frey 71 (III) is evident. This plan is altered only in so far as that the space between the two flights of stairs is now filled with a concave staircase. Its corresponding elevation is to be found on the other side of the paper (Frey 165) right at the bottom (Fig. 24).[66] Here, indeed, not only concave but also convex steps are provisionally indicated. The concave steps could not be allowed to encroach on the landing. In any case, the concave solution would in practice have been impossible.[67]

V. After this experiment Michelangelo began to handle the problem from a quite new point of view. He proceeded to develop out of the twin stairs against the walls, twin stairs standing free in the room. This is first visibile on Frey 165 in the middle (Fig. 24). The flights of stairs standing against the walls were for the time being turned on the axis of their outside forward point towards one another, so far as to make the free wall space between them 2 m. wide as against the previous 4 m.[68] The two flights now converge, the outside edges of the lowest steps touching, or nearly so, the Ricetto wall. Here is further documentary evidence of the intention to meet the papal wishes by a new device for filling the Ricetto wall as completely as possible with the stairs.

Actually, this idea in this stage could as little be carried out as that of stage IV. Not only were unmanageable spaces left between the outer notch-boards and the walls, but no satisfactory connection could be made between the outer landings and

64. The question as to what the stair of elevation Frey 72 looked like must remain open. Falsely connecting plan Frey 71 and elevation Frey 72, Tolnai then draws conclusions of outstanding importance as to the architectural conceptions of Michelangelo's. According to Tolnai two central divisions have the effect of a duplication of each side division, although, again according to him, the twofold division of the center is only 1/3 as wide again as each side division. [In fact, elevation Frey 72 is articulated: $a, b\ (a+a), a$; in plan 71 the relation of staircase to wall is: $a, b\ (a+1/3a), a$]. Tolnai further concludes that the staircase placed against the central divisions will appear larger than it really is. The disguise of an objective form by such optical delusion seems—apart from this particular case, which can be refuted on other grounds—to be in direct opposition to Michelangelo's architectural conceptions.

Another conclusion is drawn on p. 398 of the same article, also far-reaching in its consequence and also based on a false analysis of the facts.

65. This reference already in Tolnai, *loc. cit.*, p. 405, fig. 22. In Frey, fig 164, 165, and Thode, *Krit Unt*, Ii, p 129, and III, no. 138, the drawings are to some extent incorrectly described and falsely arranged.

66. Tolnai, *loc. cit.*, p 400, sees in the elevation, already correctly related to the plan by Panofsky in *Monatshefte f. Kunstwissenschaft*, 1922, pp. 262ff., a threefold free-standing stair which goes beyond the twofold stair V. Against this stands the fact that the breadth of the side flights has almost the same relation to the central space as that shown on the plan, while since the planning of the free-standing stair the distance between the side flights had been considerably diminished.

67. The solution must be similar to that of Buontalenti for S. Stefano.

68. These measurements approximately deduced from the c. 30 cm. depth of each step.

the higher central one.[69] This first form of the free-standing staircase is the direct outcome of the previous planning of the twin stairs placed against the walls. The whole group of stair designs III-V is closely interconnected. It consists essentially of variants of the twin flights of stairs placed against the walls with triple landing.

VI. Only in the drawing at the bottom of Frey 164 (Figs. 25, 30) does Michelangelo for the first time free himself from the scheme of placing the stairs against the walls. This sketch shows the threefold free-standing staircase in a constructable condition. The problem of the triple arrangement consists in the connection of the side flights with the middle. A threefold unity had to be composed. At this Michelangelo arrived in the following manner. He began the side flights the width of two steps before the middle flight. On the same section the side steps will thus lie the height of two steps above the corresponding middle one. The transition from middle to sides is effected by means of rectangular blocks of the height and depth of a step: this arrangement necessarily dictates that of the top of the staircase. The last step of the center connects with the rectangular blocks at the side of the last step but one on either side in a U form, and the last step of each side flight, which must have a depth of at least three treads, becomes part of the landing.[70]

Above this triple stair two steps are indicated: from the landing a single flight was to lead to the library door. Although a connection of this kind between the three flights, and the union and simplification of the landing makes this into a realizable stage of the plan, this is still closely associated with those that preceded it. In this case, as before, the side flights are the determining element: they enclose as though in a pair of tongs the flight placed in the middle. The recessed central flight is a transposition of the experiment with concave steps. This particular sketch for the stairs has been the subject of considerable misunderstanding. Thode[71] believed that since in the left-hand flight six and on the right only five steps are shown, Michelangelo wished here to present two possibilities. Actually, the drawing of the left-hand side of the staircase is finished, while on the right-hand flight the bottom step is not drawn in at all and the lowest but one is only indicated. Mistaken too is Tolnai's observation that the "central flight runs the height of a step lower than its satellites" since one step of the middle corresponds for the time being to two on the sides. This incorrect description of the sketch leads to an incorrect analysis of Michelangelo's intentions. According to Tolnai the deep central steps were to stand out majestically, and the more shallow side flights to be insignificant. Much rather is the emphasis on the flanking flights—as has already been shown. Only subsequent development leads to the focussing of the main accent on the central flight.

69. The outer landings had the form of a trapeze, from which the stair to the middle landing cut off on each side an irregular triangle.

70. Two steps: to equal the depth of the last steps of the central flight, and one to connect the last steps of the side flights.

71. *Krit. Unt.*, III, no. 138. Compare the correct conclusions Frey, *Handzeichnungen*, text p. 80. For the understanding of Michelangelo's sketch it is necessary to point out that during the drawing an enlargement of scale took place towards the middle. In consequence of this change the flight on the right was not completed, so that the whole staircase should not appear lopsided. Nor must we overlook the fact that only during the process of this drawing were the architect's ideas clearly formulated, ideas which were quite new in the history of the stair. The detail of the connection between side and middle flights shown on the left above is sufficient witness of the struggle Michelangelo had with this conception.

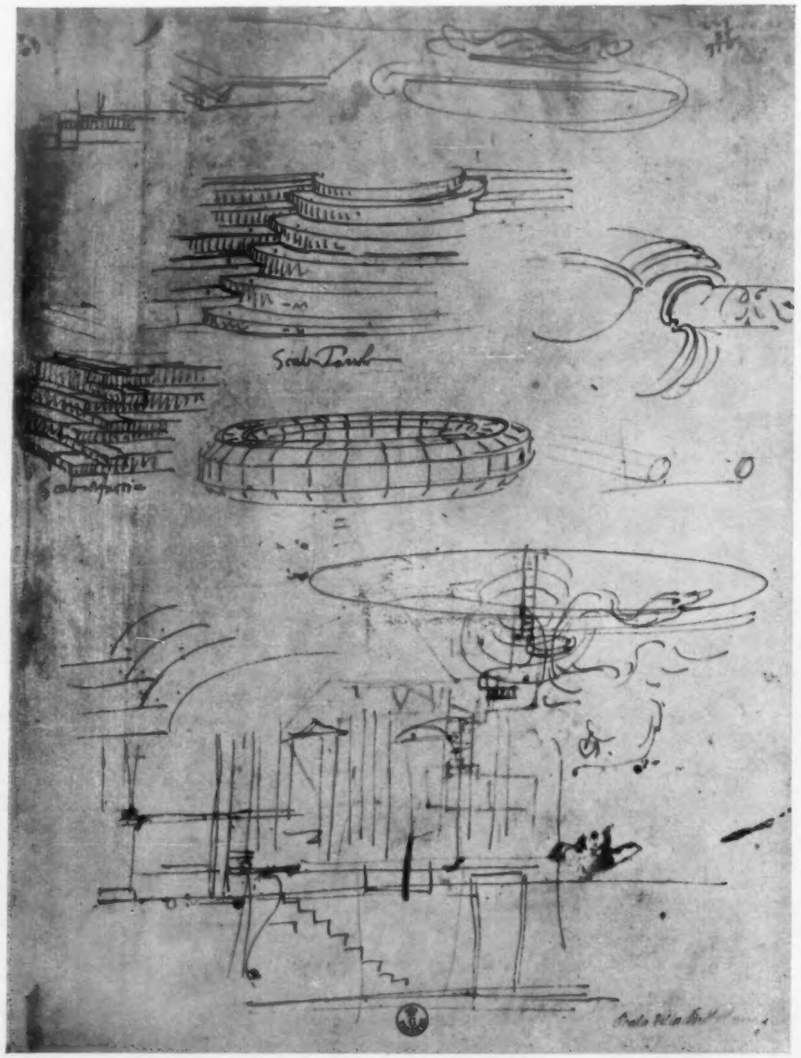

FIG. 26—*Copy by Antonio da Sangallo after Sketches by Michelangelo for Staircase (Uffizi dis. arch. 1464)*

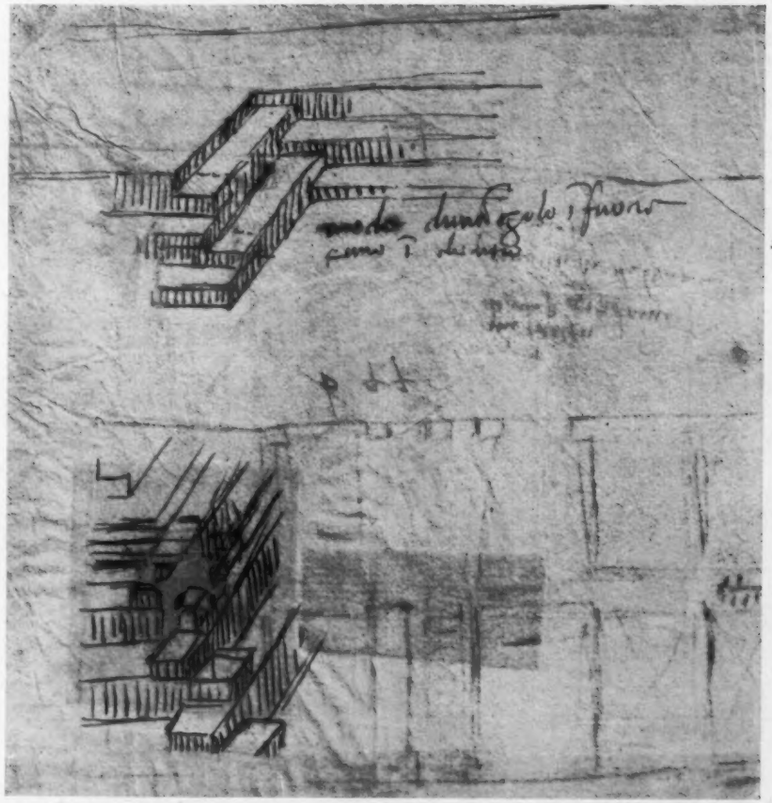

FIG. 27—*Copy by Antonio da Sangallo after Sketches by Michelangelo for Staircase (Uffizi dis. arch. 817)*

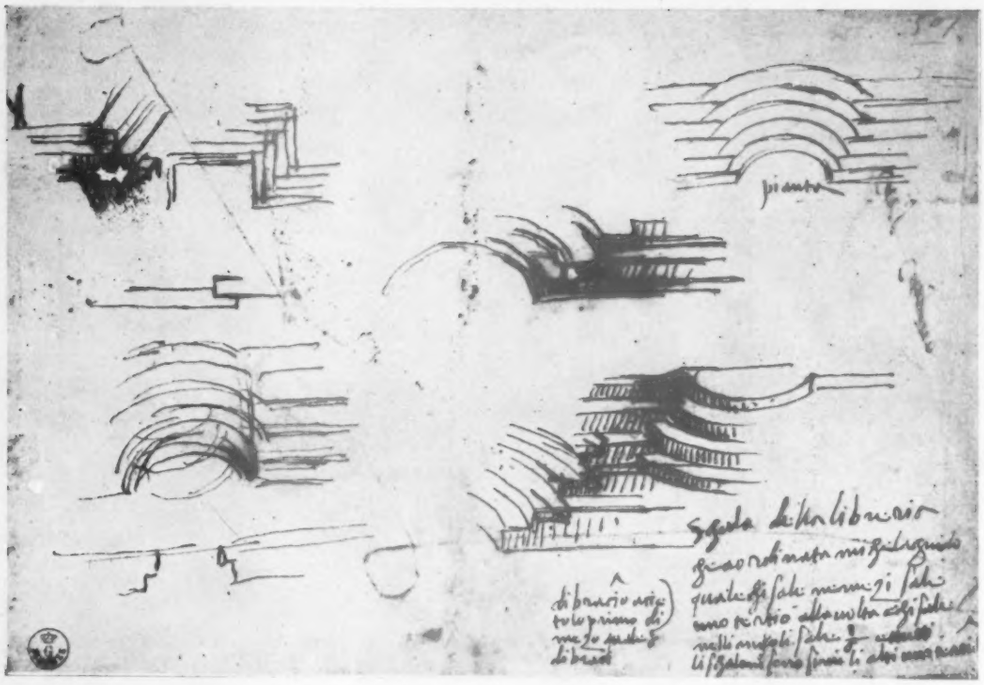

FIG. 28—*Copy by Antonio da Sangallo after Sketches by Michelangelo for Staircase* (*Uffizi dis. arch. 816*)

FIG. 29—*Marks of Tribolo's Stairs on South Wall of the Ricetto*

VII. The next stage can be traced from the unconvincing sketch of a ground plan on the same paper Frey 164 (Fig. 25), to the right above. This solitary original illustration of this phase suffices to give documentary value to copies which, on their side, make the elucidation of this ground plan possible.

The copies from Michelangelo's staircase plans by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger consist of three papers in the Uffizi, dis. arch. 816 (Fig. 28), 817 (Fig. 27), and 1464 (Fig. 26). The copyist himself has written under the sketches of one paper "Schala della libreria che a ordinata michelagniolo."[72] Altogether the sketches of the three papers illustrate two varieties of the same stage of development. One project (*a*) has a central flight of convex steps converging away from the Ricetto towards the library (Figs. 26, 28). The other (*b*) shows a rectangular central flight drawn out in front of the side stairs (Fig. 27). In comparison with the similarities of the handling of the problem in the two cases, the differences—which, after all, concern only the shape of the central flight—fade into insignificance. In both versions an attempt is made to arrange the connection between middle and side flights in a manner similar to but more complicated than VI. The text of sheet 816 (Fig. 28) gives an extremely precise description of the new treatment: "He who goes up the middle flight, climbs 1/3 braccio at a time, he who goes up at the corners climbs 1/6 braccio. All the steps are the same height except the bottom step of the middle flight, which lacks 1/6 braccio."[73] This indentation of middle and side flights has, in exact accordance with the description, as clearly as can be desired the appearance of sheet 1464 (Fig. 26). The Sangallo text relates to the plan with convex central steps (*a*).

Still more complicated in conception is the arrangement with the projecting rectangular central flight (*b*); for—as shown in the sketches at the top of sheet 817 (Fig. 27)—the projecting rectangle is not to consist of a homogeneous stair structure, but the sides of the steps are to be half a step higher than their long front. The sides of the steps of the projecting right angle indentate with the side flights as in version *a*. The part of the steps on sheet 817 shows the joining of the steps at the fore and back angles. This intention is made clear by the inscription: "modo d'un angolo fuoro come dentro," i. e. shape of the angle outside and in.

On sheet 816 (Fig. 28) at the top left-hand corner is the ground plan with rectangular center, at the top right that with a convex central flight.[74] Part of the ground plan with convex center is also clearly recognizable on the left of sheet 1464 (Fig. 26). Comparing this plan with the original at the top right of Frey 164 (Fig. 25), the same kind of step dovetailing is to be found in each. It cannot be doubted that at the bottom of the original ground plan (*c*) lay the same indentation as is to be seen in the copies: the original fragment not only confirms the documentary worth of the copies, but its prospect can be exactly reconstructed (Fig. 30). Whence, it is clear

72. Only this sheet, no. 816, published by Geymüller, *Michelagnolo Buonarroti als Architekt*, p. 48, fig. 38, sheet 1464 referred to. See Thode, *Krit. Unt.*, II, p. 129-30, III, no. 244a. Frey, *Handzeichnungen*, text p. 80, would use these sheets in reconstructing Michelangelo's plans only with strict reservations: he gives no reason for this opinion.

73. See Geymüller, *loc. cit.*; Thode, *loc. cit.*; Panofsky in *Monatshefte f. Kunstwissenschaft*, 1922, p. 265.

74. Under this plan is written "pianta." These two, as also the other plans, are always seen from the door. So also is the original plan by Michelangelo on Frey 164.

that we have here a variation of the theme of the rectangular projecting center. The simpler arrangement is that shown in the sketch on sheet 817 (Fig. 27).

In the original ground plan the accent is transferred from the plain rectangular form to the complicated shaping of the angles. The leading idea was that of effecting the indentation of the steps not only in the background, but also in the foreground. This was possible, however, only by drawing out the side parts of the central rectangle and making them independent. The complicated solution of the problem shown on the original ground plan necessarily presupposes the idea of the simple rectangle as the center.

The interpenetration of the three variations—*a*, *b*, *c*—rests on the same principle of dovetailing. Development from *a* to *c*, from the convex middle flight, through the rectangular center, to the projecting acute angles, is traceable in so far as instead of the single dovetailing in *a* and its complication in *b* (by the separation of sides and front of the rectangle) finally in *c* a double dovetailing was effected. All three variations show, as compared with the earlier plans, one significant element: the value of the side flights is depreciated in favor of that of the center, which becomes the dominant theme of the construction.

VIII. From these three schemes with similar indentation emerges yet another, which, although its step intersection is based on the same principle, is distinguished by two fundamentally new elements. This scheme also is preserved only in a copy in the sketchbook of Oreste Vannocci in the Communal Library in Siena (Fig. 31).[75] Michelangelo here returns again to the oval-shaped stairs of sheet 1464, but in place of the formerly straight side flights—the last remains of the original wall flights—there is now a repetition of the central oval. In the variations of the former scheme (VII, *a-c*) the notch-boards of the side flights were set at right angles to the Ricetto wall at the back, but here the actual steps of the side flights run against the back wall; the Ricetto wall itself is thus actually the notch-board of the staircase. With this idea every element reminiscent of the original wall flights is eliminated. But now, *via* the intermediary stage of the free-standing stair, a new kind of wall stair has been evolved. The stairs now spring to some extent from the door wall and are in direct relation to the door itself.

With this freshly devised wall stair a further significant element is logically connected. The distinct severance of middle and side flights is here effaced in the union of the whole construction. Every second step is carried unbroken round the whole staircase. Instead of the individuality of the three flights, one is primarily sensible of a geometrical figure (ground plan: intersection of the sides of a square by the segments of a circle).

It will be in the highest degree informative to look back over the development which has led up to this point—and goes, as remains to be seen, on beyond it. In the first practicable plan for a free-standing stair (VI) it was possible in spite of the cubes inserted between middle and side flights to isolate the middle flight: one could imagine it being taken out and replaced between the side wings. This

75. Fol. 65r. Published by L. H. Heydenreich in *Mitteilungen des kunsthist. Instituts in Florenz*, III, July, 1931, p. 440, fig. 5. Note by Vannocci "Scala di Michel Ango Buonarotti per la Libraria di San Lorenzo."

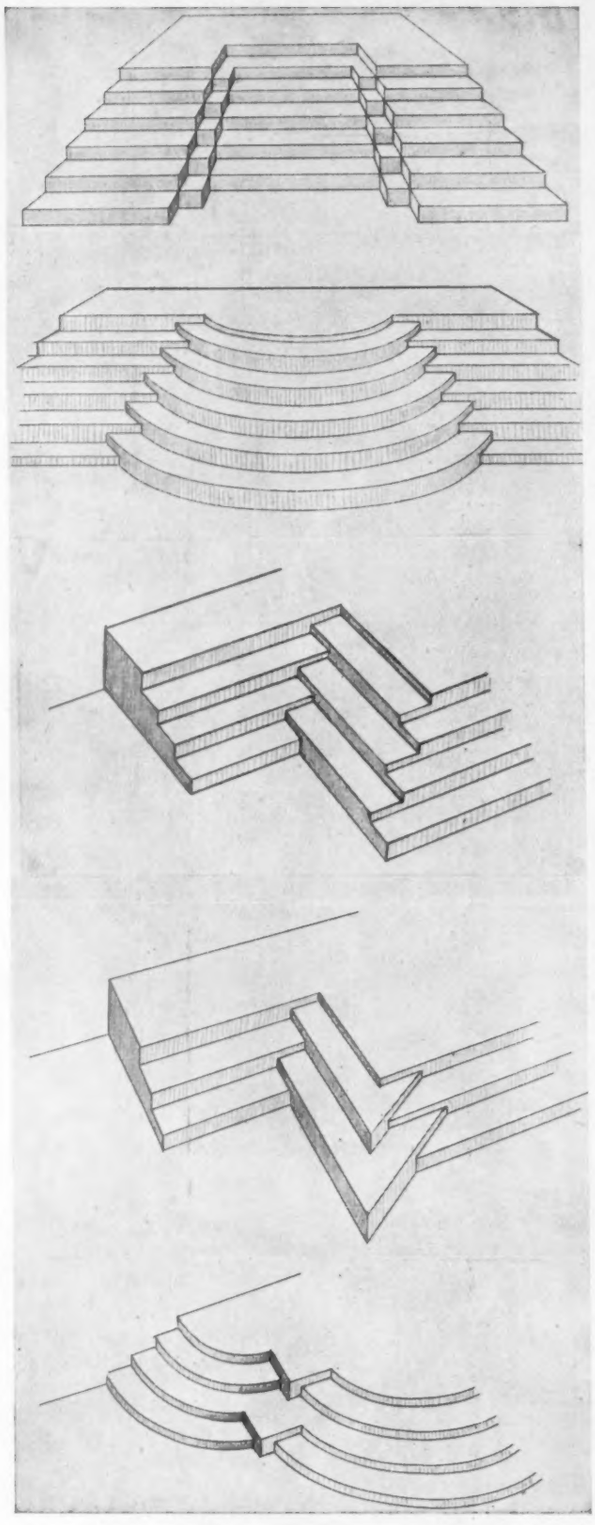

FIG. 30—*Reconstructions of Michelangelo's Ideas for the Stairs* (*Stages VI, VII*a-c, *VIII*)

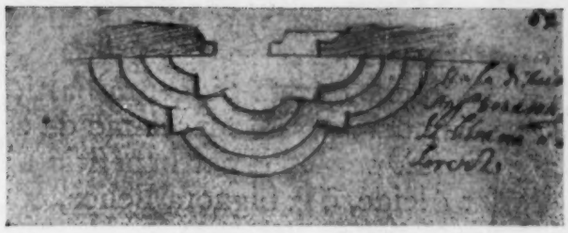

FIG. 31—*Copy by Vannocci after Sketch by Michelangelo for Staircase* (*Siena, Bibl. Comunale—after Heydenreich*)

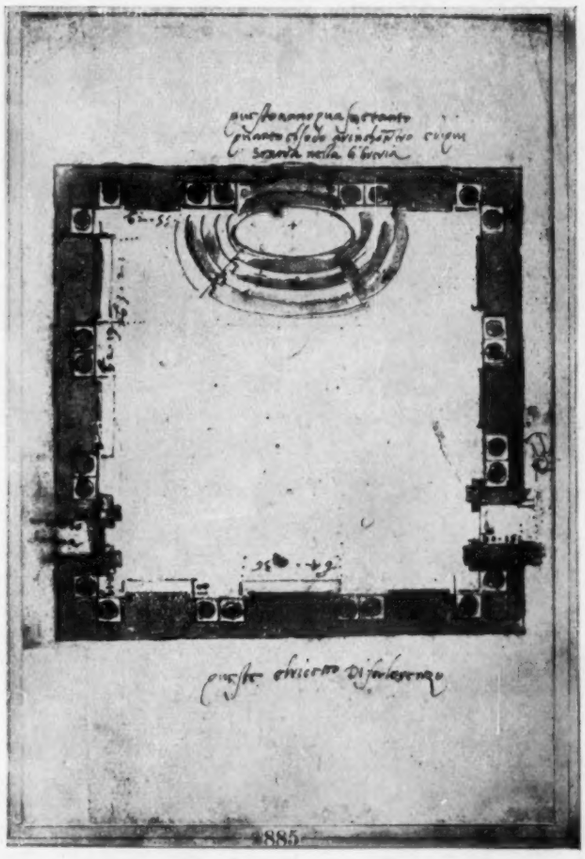

FIG. 32—*Copy by Battista da Sangallo after Sketch by Michelangelo for Staircase* (*Lille, Musée Wicar*)

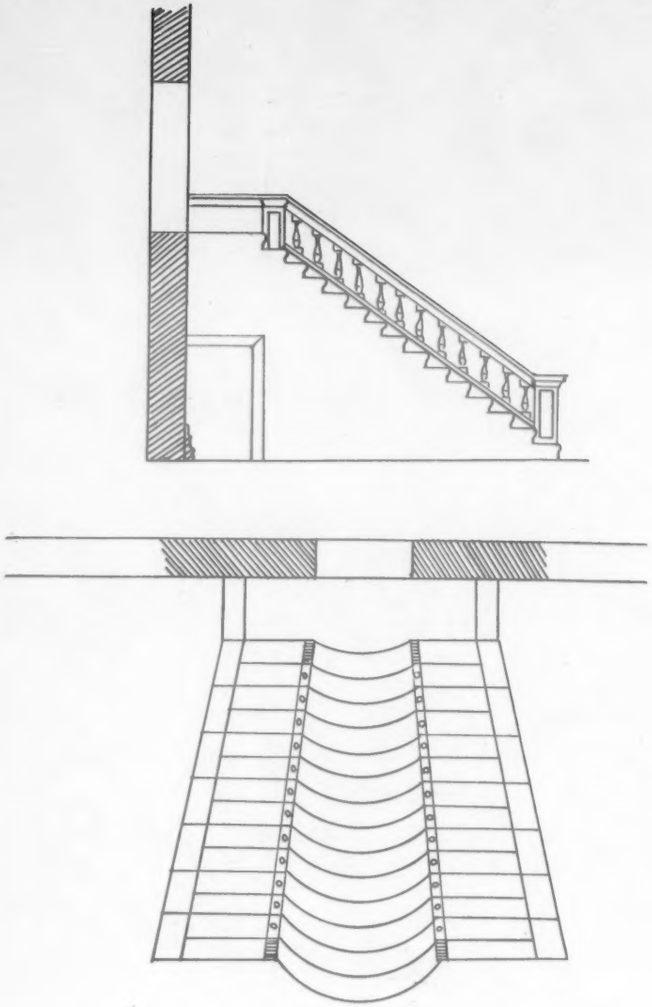

FIG. 34—*Reconstruction of Staircase Plan of 1555 (after Panofsky)*

FIG. 33—*Sketch of Staircase Plan of 1555 (Cod. Vat. 3211, fol. 87v—after Panofsky)*

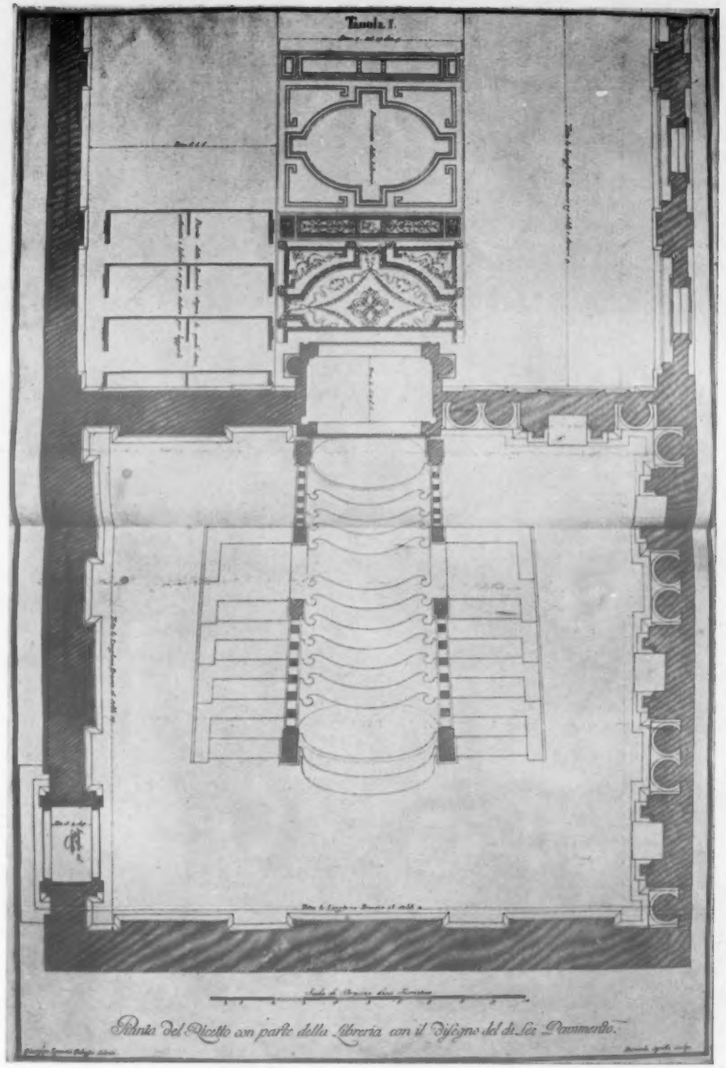

FIG. 35—*Plan Showing Ricetto Staircase and Library Floor Design (after G. I. Rossi)*

separability of the parts was destroyed by the direct interlocking of side and middle flights (VII, *a*). On this plan, as has been explained, the steps of middle and side flights rise at different levels. Now the attempt was made, in spite of their indentation, to make the steps of middle and sides rise at one height (VII, *b*). To make this possible the central rectangle had to be brought forward of the side flights. Onto the sides of the rectangle now devolved the task which had hitherto fallen to the indivisible convex center. In the sequel (VII, *c*) the breach between middle and sides of the projecting rectangle was accomodated in the assumption by these sides of the function of a joint clamping fore and aft. Herewith the problem is fundamentally solved. The bizarre shape of the stair is the necessary outcome of a logical development. It is here possible to imagine that the corresponding side and middle steps meet beneath the clamping angle joint. In the new conception (VIII) this is made evident; and at the same time the angle joints, which on plan VII, *c*, have the effect of extraneous members, are taken organically into the form of the whole outlay. Herewith, a solution of the problem is demonstrated in which in spite of the retention of the step indentation sides and middle ascend at one height, and no separate rhythm is demanded for the member effecting the indentation. This is the end of a development which can be traced stage by stage.

IX. With this scheme handed on to us by Vannocci the last word is not, however, spoken. The union of middle and sides is brought to a point where, as we have seen, it is no longer the flights themselves but the geometrical figure of the whole stair which is the dominant effect. But the three flights are, nevertheless, still existent. The segments of middle and sides, lie, if they are continued, at right angles to one another. So that yet a further step could be taken on the way to the elimination of the separate flights. This Michelangelo completed in a scheme which is, again, retained only in copies: on a page of Battista da Sangallo's sketchbook at Lille (Fig. 32), and in a drawing corresponding to this in the last detail from Oreste Vannocci's sketchbook.[76] Here the stair is developed from an oval. It forms a complete single whole, even if a break between middle and sides is not on the face of it abandoned.[77] This is the most mature solution of the problem of centering the stairs onto the door. In it the plan having the stairs against the Ricetto wall found a completely logical form.[78]

The whole development of the stair is between the two following extremes. At first the landing before the door connected the separate staircases placed against the side walls and effected their junction with the door. Now staircase, landing, wall, and

76. The Lille drawing first published by Geymüller, *op cit.*, p. 47, fig. 37. Here also Vannocci's, sheet is referred to. See Thode, II, p. 122, III, no. 281. Vannocci's drawing in fol. 30v of the sketchbook published by Heydenreich, *loc. cit.*, fig. 4. This stage of development is clearly illustrated in the plan on the Haarlem sheet, right middle (Fig. 19). Here is shown the oval stair placed against the library wall, the articulation of the Ricetto wall in five divisions, and concentric circles which seemingly represent the ochio of the skylight. However, we insist neither on the originality of this ground plan nor on that of the other plan of this sheet.

77. As in the preceding plan the relation of the middle to each side is 2 : 1. It is most likely that the breach between middle and side flights was to be effected here on the same principle of angular joints as in project VIII. It is remarkable that on the middle flight 1/3 is written and on the right-hand side flight 1/4. It does not, however, seem necessary to conclude therefore that the middle and side flights rise in different rhythms.

78. The oval scheme is not really so practicable as it appears in the copy. A feasible reconstruction (though possible) can be dispensed with as Michelangelo's intentions are not exactly known.

door are one organic and inseparable whole. The various stages of the plan logically develop towards this end.

Now that this complex of ideas has reached its natural conclusion it is time to examine another problem. Within the last two stages of the plan (VIII—IX) it is to be supposed that there is a landing some halfway up the stairs—that is, after about seven steps.[79] Above the landing the stairs are continued in a single flight. This arrangement is clearly shown in the copies of the oval plan (IX). The stairs of the last two stages of the plan can only have this form, for the following reasons: as the sides of the staircase are made of steps and not, as in stages VI and VII, of notch-boards, the extension of the whole stair having the two flights continued to the top, fourteen steps each 30 cm. deep, would be 14 × 30 cm. + 14 × 30 cm. + the breadth of the door, i. e. 2 × 4.20 m. + approximately 2 m.: i. e. some 10.40 m. This is more than the whole breadth of the Ricetto will take. On the other hand, taking the landing halfway up the stairs (after the seventh step), and above that one flight only (with notch-boards at the sides) as wide as the door, the extension of the whole becomes: 2 × 7 × 30 cm. + the width of the landing + the width of the door, approximately 2 m. To the minimum breadth of 6.20 m. the breadth of the surrounding landing must be added. This measure corresponds more or less to that of the existing structure: 6.55 m.

The idea of the halfway landing has its own history. Even if Michelangelo, as is doubtless the case, did not always put the exact number of steps intended into his sketches, the constantly recurring short number of steps must have its reason. Since the beginning of a serious grappling with the problem of the free-standing stair, that is since project VI, Michelangelo clearly reckoned on a break in the stair after the sixth or seventh step and its continuation in a single flight above the landing. Moreover, the landing on the section of sheet 234 (Fig. 11) is marked exactly halfway up; and, finally, the landing of the subsequent phase, no. X, can be reconstructed at half height.

Michelangelo had nevertheless contemplated, within various stages, taking all three flights at once to the library door. Witness of this is a ground plan on the Uffizi sheet 816 (Fig. 28), below on the left (VII, *a*); here the convex central flight runs together with the side flights up to a broad landing before the library door. Further witness is the outer section on sheet 234.[80] Also within the later history of the stair (XII) it can be shown that Michelangelo seriously considered three flights running right through without a landing.

The development of ideas for the stair took place in two periods divided from one another by nearly a year. The break occurs after the first project (II), which was evolved before April 29, 1524. The remaining projects must belong relatively near together in the period shortly before and after April 12, 1525. Proof of this is also

79. So long as there was to be a passage between the two wings of the stair—as marked on projects III and V—the outer parts of the landing must be about 2 m. high. This height is arrived at also if we start from the fact that the central landing lies on the level of the cornice of the base, i. e. 2.60 m. less three steps of about 20 cm. each: 2 m. The number of steps drawn in these plans show that Michelangelo did not usually insert the exact number of steps, but contended himself with a summary indication of them.

80. Michelangelo omitted to show on the section of the stair the necessary continuation of the slope above the landing. This tallies with the fact that he separated to some degree in his thought the complicated lower threefold construction from the single flight above it.

forthcoming. Just those projects (VIII and IX) which are latest in time and have steps placed against the back (library) wall could not have been evolved during a stage in which Michelangelo was thinking of any kind of articulation for the base. They are reasonable, and in fact feasible, only so long as the base of the wall presents a homogeneous unbroken front. This is, however, the case only during the first plan, the final project of the first plan showing, as we have seen, an unarticulated base. All these stair projects must, thus, belong to the first plan, and are therefore to be dated before November 29, 1525. One point can be raised against this dating. The very last ground plan with the oval stair (Fig. 32) is shown within the final form of the Ricetto and not within its first stage. Heydenreich explains the complete agreement between the sheets of Battista da Sangallo and of Vannocci on the assumption of a common original.[81] But against this there are decisive objections. It would have been remarkable if Michelangelo had introduced the stair in so summary a manner into a ground plan drawn in detail. Instead of the necessary fourteen or fifteen steps, only nine can be counted here. Completely at fault is the extent of the stair in relation to the room: the stair is much too small. On the scale of the ground plan of the room the whole stair—apart from the landing—comes to considerably less than 3 m. The depth of each step is at most 20 cm., a quite inconceivable dimension. A stair sketched into the scale ground plan can only be intended as an experiment in the relation of the stair to the whole room. It is in this relationship that there is a discrepancy in scale. In view of these observations it is impossible that both drawings were copied from an original of Michelangelo. It is much more likely that a copy of one of Michelangelo's mere sketch plans for the stair has been inserted into a scale plan of the Ricetto, without considering that Michelangelo's sketch was for a quite differently articulated room. Only so is the combination of elements differing in scale and meaning to be understood. It follows that Vannocci must somehow have seen and made use of Sangallo's sketchbook.

X. With the transition to the final Ricetto plan came the detailed base, necessitating the complete revision of the stair project. The final articulated base and the stairs placed against the wall are incompatible. The new articulation of the Ricetto wall compelled Michelangelo to return once more to the idea of the free-standing stair.

This decision must have been made together with the general change of plan at the beginning of 1526. In the second half of this year the work was put aside for lack of money; as regards the stairs nothing had yet happened. Only after an interval of seven years was activity in the library and Ricetto resumed. Of this time, August 20, 1533, is a contract between Michelangelo and five stonemasons, Antonio and Simone di Jacopo di Berto, Francesco d'Andrea Luchesini, and the latter's nephews Michele and Leonardo di Giovanni Luchesini, for the fitting of two doors and the stair for the library.[82] The stair was to be made: "nel modo, forma e misura, siccome è disegnato tutto non tanto in sul chiostro, ma per il modino fatto di terra

81. Battista da Sangallo had been dead eight years († 1552) when Vannocci was born.

82. Milanesi, *Lettere di Michelangelo*, p. 707. This important contract has been curiously overlooked by Michelangelo scholars. We find it only quoted (not interpreted) in an obscure work by Gaetano Guasti, *Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana*, in *Raccolta delle migliori Fabbriche antiche e moderne di Firenze disegnate e descritte da R. ed E. Mazzanti e T. del Lungo*, Florence, 1876, pp. 22-3.

dal nostro Michelagnolo, come ciascuno de' sopra detti maestri veduto apresso anno. In che però si dichiara expresso che li scaglioni della scala anno a essere 14, tutti d'un pezzo l'uno e massime li primi 7 colle rivolte, senza che si dimostri alcun convento." By the end of March, 1534, doors and stair were to be completed. It will be as well to paraphrase in English the not very clear contract document: For the construction of the stair attention was to be paid not so much to the drawings kept in the cloister (evidently large scale) as to a small model made by Michelangelo which each one of the workmen named had seen. It is expressly stated that the stair consists of fourteen steps, each to be of one piece, particularly the first seven with the "rivolte," without any joint being visible.[83] The confusion of the last sentence must be occasioned by the omission in the formulation of the text of a self-evident premise. Each step was to be of one piece: but if that were impracticable, the first seven steps must in any case be of one piece, while in the others no joint must be visible.

The short text contains a number of revealing particulars. The lower seven steps are distinguished from the upper by the term "rivolte."[84] The expression can here be understood only in its original sense: turning round, turning back. "Notch-boards," Panofsky's interpretation of the word, correct in other connections, would here be senseless.[85] Here "rivolte" must mean the curves, as we now see them, at either end of each step of the central flight.[86] Without the landing break, steps with curved ends cannot be continued in steps with none. Halfway up the flight a landing is, therefore, to be assumed.

Hence, it can be seen, at least, that this stair is identical neither with an early project nor with the project of twenty-five years later. Identical with the earlier stage is the landing at half height, similar to that of the actual construction. The steps with "rivolte" are not to be found in any early project, but only in the existing construction;[87] the shape of the steps between the "rivolte" must necessarily be convex. We can hardly go wrong in assuming that the seven middle steps with "rivolte" were bordered by straight flights accompanying the middle flight to the landing, and, further, that above the landing the middle flight alone continued in a simple convex form. So with the highest degree of probability a plan can be reconstructed which is developed out of project VII, *a*. It can, moreover, be shown that the hitherto forgotten and now reconstructed plan of 1533 is of decisive significance for the stair existing today, for a number of the present steps were made during this phase of building.

The convex steps with "rivolte" reveal a combination of the ideas of earlier schemes. In the project for a free-standing stair, VI, the top step of the middle flight connects with the block inserted at the angle in a parallel form. This

83. "Convento: Spazio tra due cose commesse come pietre, mattoni, legni." See Tommaseo, *Dizionario della lingua italiana*, 1929, II, p. 619.

84. In the text of the contract no express mention is made of three flights; this would be superfluous. It is self-evident that the specific demands concern the middle flight.

85. In *Monatshefte f. Kunstwissenschaft*, 1922, pp. 262ff.

86. "Rivolta" occurs several times in the sixteenth century in a similar sense. See Tommaseo, *op. cit.*, V, p. 429. Compare also "rivolta" as the cuff of a sleeve or the toe-cap of a shoe.

87. Here, however, they include the whole length of the middle flight, not only the steps to the middle landing. But it will be shown later that the plan of 1533 seems to have undergone in the same year a revision so that all the middle steps received "rivolte."

contraction of two different members, introduced originally as a structural idea, is now used for its aesthetic value alone and logically taken over into the finished convexly curved steps of project VII, *a*.[88]

XI. Between the year of the contract, 1533, and the final building year, 1559, there is only one, and that an abortive, attempt to construct the stair.[89] This attempt was made by the sculptor Nicolò Tribolo. Tribolo's *intermezzo*—never yet discussed—is in several respects revealing. Vasari gives a copious report of the undertaking—in fact, two conflicting reports, one in the life of Michelangelo and one in the life of Tribolo. In the first case[90] Tribolo was—still in the pontificate of Paul III (1534-50)—sent by Cosimo I to Rome to persuade Michelangelo to return to Florence. Failing to do this, Tribolo tried to ascertain the nature of Michelangelo's ultimate intentions regarding the Ricetto stair, for even the available drawings and terracotta models did not make clear "la propria ed ultima risoluzione." Michelangelo invariably answered that he remembered nothing about it. In the life of Tribolo the circumstance is somewhat differently painted.[91] Tribolo had been entrusted by Duke Cosimo with the task of completing the stair. Having put four steps in position he did not know how to proceed, and was sent by the duke to Rome to get information from Michelangelo and to persuade him to make the journey to Florence. Michelangelo refused to make the journey and declared as regards the stair: "non ricordarsi più nè di misure nè d'altro."

The portrayal in Tribolo's life seems the most likely, for Vasari could hardly have reported the very remarkable fact of the placing of the four steps unless this had actually been effected. Vasari is peculiarly competent to speak on the affair of the staircase: not only did he live in Florence throughout the Tribolo *intermezzo*, but a few years later he himself became active in the matter. He gives no exact date for Tribolo's abortive efforts. But these can be accurately dated from two other documents. Lelio Torelli writes on January 20, 1550, to Cosimo's *maggiordomo*, Pier Francesco Riccio: since that stair "che ora si disegnava non riusciva," he, Torelli, was sending for consideration a letter written by Michelangelo to Fattucci on the subject of the stair, which letter he had obtained from Fattucci.[92] This missing letter from Michelangelo to Fattucci may not have been of recent date, may even have been of 1526—of the period during which Fattucci represented Michelangelo's interests in Rome and the two were in constant correspondence over the affairs of the library. The second document is of the summer of 1550. After Tribolo's failure in Rome various attempts seem to have been made to get some information out of Michelangelo regarding his intentions for the stair. Thus, in the summer of 1550 the intimate friend of these years, Donato Giannotti, asks Michelangelo for a drawing of the stair.[93] Even if the name of Tribolo occurs neither in Giannotti's

88. Panofsky, *loc. cit.*, as others, takes this form of step for a conception of Ammanati's Tolnai, on the other hand, rightly recognizes the connection of the final form of the step with project VI and supports, therefore, its authenticity. But Tolnai thinks the form an invention of the last stage of the plan 1559.

89. Section XI first published in manuscript in the *Festschrift für Adolph Goldschmidt*, 1933.

90. Ed. Milanesi, VII, p. 236.

91. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 92.

92. Milanesi, *Lettere...*, p. 550, note 2. See Thode, II, p. 117, and Frey, *Der literarische Nachlass des Giorgio Vasari*, 1923, I, p. 416.

93. Letter from D. Giannotti to Lorenzo Ridolfi of August 8: " .. sono addosso a Michelagniolo, e.... spero fargli fare un disegno per quella scala...." See Steinmann, *Michelangelo im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, 1930, p. 84, no. 181.

letter nor in that of Torelli, these can but refer to this phase of the stair building. This establishes the year 1549 as that of Tribolo's efforts, and his journey to Rome is then likely to have been at the turn of the year 1549/50.[94]

The exact account of Tribolo's attempt to complete the stair would be of small interest were it not the key to a hitherto unexplained chapter of the stair's history. On the projecting part of the base of the wall dividing library from Ricetto are to be found the marks where steps were once in place (Fig. 29). On either side of the stair the dark *macigno* covering of the skirting is preserved intact only to a distance of some 1.20 m. from the outer wall. This frame is then cut away in a manner such that the "negative" of a lower step, 20.5 cm. high, and a second, 22 cm. high and 32 cm. deep, is recognizable. In the plaster panel of the base on both sides two more steps are imprinted.[95] Further, it can be seen that the inner *macigno* frame of the same two parts of the base has been moved to a height of a little more than 1 m. from the floor level. Finally, the *macigno* framing is missing to a height of 1.77 m. from the central part of the base against which stands the upper part of the stair,[96] and some parts of the brackets have been sawn off. The nature of the breach shows that a once complete paneling has been forcibly removed. The negatives of the two lowest steps make it clear that the Ricetto wall was to serve as notch-board for twin flights of stairs leading up to the middle.

It has been shown that after the final articulation of the Ricetto base only a free-standing stair could be installed. The step "negatives" are, however, irrefutable witness of a plan with steps placed against the back wall. The combination of the final base with such a stair could never have been undertaken under Michelangelo's supervision. This mistake can only be explained through the absence of the master and ignorance of his intentions. Since, however, this error does not come into question during the last building period, Tribolo alone can be held responsible for it. The inevitable conclusion is, then, that the marks of steps on the wall are to be connected with that passage in Vasari according to which Tribolo put four steps in position. This explains not only the appearance of the wall, but also Tribolo's conduct. The problem of the wall relief, particularly the existence of the volutes, made the continuation of the stair as it was begun impossible. Tribolo betook himself to Rome, explained the situation to the master—and gained from him not a single word. Years later Michelangelo could remember his original ideas quite well. His obstinate silence was due to anger at Tribolo's ill-considered procedure. Without having taken any further steps in the matter Tribolo died at the beginning of September, 1550.

The foregoing discussion of the development of Michelangelo's stair projects provides a ready answer to the question of the origin of Tribolo's misunderstanding.

94. The date of this part of the building there has hitherto been uncertain. Thode alone dates it correctly (II, p. 117): 1549 Frey, *Der literarische Nachlass...*, I, p. 402, note, dates Tribolo's journey to Rome about 1545 and Popp, *Medici-Kapelle*, p. 118, believes it to have been considerably earlier—between March and December, 1538.

95. However, in the photograph on pl. V of Geymüller's work a big hole is to be seen at this point—at least on the illustrated left-hand side of the stair. Old people also affirm that on both sides the two upper marks of steps on the wall were made when big holes were filled in. The size and shape of the holes show that there must have been exactly two steps on each side.

96. In recent literature reference is to be found to this condition of the wall only in Panofsky, *loc. cit.*, p. 272, and he cannot explain it.

Tribolo looked upon the final stage of the first plan, with the steps placed against the back wall, as Michelangelo's last word. It may be taken as certain that he was led to this by the existence of Michelangelo's exact drawings. It is not impossible that these were the ones in the cloister, referred to in the contract of 1533, which were not in agreement with the latest model of 1533, and must, therefore, have belonged to an earlier stage of development.[97]

The copies by Battista da Sangallo and Vannocci after Michelangelo's oval plan (VIII, IX), and Tribolo's undertaking mutually confirm one another. This indicates that the copies, in fact, reproduce plans by Michelangelo, and the existence of the copies supports our conclusion that Tribolo must have referred back to drawings by Michelangelo. The copyists witness, as does Tribolo, that the fact soon came to be overlooked that Michelangelo had various plans for the stair in accordance with various wall elevations. This alone explains how Tribolo could blindly embark on a plan which had meaning only within a quite otherwise articulated Ricetto.

When ten years after Tribolo's activity the construction of the stair was resumed, the steps put in place by Tribolo had to be removed. At that time no attempt was made to restore the injured wall, and even the steps, which had obviously no further use, simply remained lying in the Ricetto. Their fate can be followed through nearly three hundred years. Bottari writes of them in his edition of Vasari.[98] He finds a number of completely worked steps in the Ricetto and expressly affirms that these belong to the step marks on the wall; his quite casual conclusions from this require here neither discussion nor refutation. Domenico Moreni[99] knew and reported that these steps, which like Bottari he thought to have been placed here under Michelangelo's guidance, were taken on March 21, 1811, out of the Ricetto and broken in pieces to be sunk in the foundations of a building in Poggio Imperiale. Herewith, the Tribolo episode came to its final inglorious conclusion.

XII. Only more than five years after the vain attempts to get from Michelangelo an explanation of his intentions regarding the stair was a new effort made—and this time successfully. Duke Cosimo entrusted to Vasari the task of inducing Michelangelo to speak. And Vasari received from Michelangelo that famous letter of September 28, 1555, which has until very recently always been falsely interpreted.[100] The riddle presented by the letter was solved by Panofsky.[101] To reconstruct the stair project of 1555 Panofsky (cf. Fig. 34) called in the two insignificant little sketches at the side of the letter's rough draft in the Codex Vaticanus (Fig. 33). In view of Panofsky's conclusive proofs it will suffice here to describe the nature of this scheme: three flights—the central with oval steps, the sides with straight—

97. Torelli was able to say in his letter of 1550 quoted above that Michelangelo's model for the steps was in the room where Andrea Sansovino died. As Sansovino died in 1529, this must refer to a model of 1525/6, not to the latest model of 1533.

98. *Vita di Michelagnolo Bonarroti.* Separately printed in 1759/60, p. 53, note.

99. *Continuazione delle mem. istoriche.... di S. Lorenzo,* Florence, 1816, I, p. 252.

100. Michelangelo's letter in Vasari, ed. Milanesi, VII, p. 237, further Milanesi, *Lettere...*, pp. 548-9, with incorrect date, 1558. The fragment of the draft of this letter in Cod. Vat. 3211, fol. 87v, first published by C. Frey in *Jahrbuch d. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen,* IV, 1883, p. 40. In Panofsky in *Repertorium f. Kunstwissenschaft,* 1922, p. 262, comparison of the fragment and the letter itself. Also in Frey, *Der literarische Nachlass...*, 1923, I, pp. 419ff. The letter to Vasari was enclosed in a letter to Leonardo Buonarroti, who was to read it and pass it on. Printed in Milanesi, *Lettere...*, p. 312 (with the correct date, 1555), and in Frey, *Der literarische Nachlass...*, I, pp. 415-7, with exhaustive philological comments.

101. Panofsky, *loc. cit.*

meet before the door in a common landing; the top step of the middle flight, which broadens towards the bottom, has the same breadth as the door; the staircase is placed bridge-like against the wall—that is to say that between the wall and the lower half of the notch-board there is a free passage.

Michelangelo's express declaration that the base of the wall should remain undisturbed all the way round[102] obviously condemns Tribolo's earlier attempt. Michelangelo affirms that he does not think he is describing his old plan ("ma non credo che sia apunto quella che io pensai allora"). Of which earlier plan is he here thinking? Doubtless of that of 1533. The idea of 1555 for the stair agrees to a great extent with the conception of 1533 which we have reconstructed. It differs, in fact, in two points only: instead of pausing in a halfway landing, the stairs rise all the way without a break; and instead of the continuation of the stairs above the landing in a single flight, the side flights run the whole way up.

With the conception of 1533 Michelangelo confused an earlier series of ideas. It has already been pointed out[103] that in the stair schemes of 1525 he was considering at the same time a stair with a landing break and an undivided stair running all the way up. The section shown on sheet 234 (Fig. 11) indicates both possibilities. The undivided stair, however, was practicable only in a Ricetto scheme with an unarticulated wall base; for in the final plan for the Ricetto the breadth of such an upper landing would come into contact with the neighboring brackets on the base.[104] To the impracticability of the 1555 scheme is perhaps due the fact that the stair was not immediately completed.

XIII. Only in December, 1558, was the debate over the stair renewed.[105] Ammanati was now in charge of the work. In January Michelangelo sent over a small terracotta model in a box and an explanatory letter. As in his letter of 1555 he referred correctingly to Tribolo's effort, so now he turned against his own error underlying the conception of 1555. He remembers, so he explains, that in his original scheme—he is thinking doubtless again of the scheme of 1533[106]—a single flight only is brought up to the door, which means a single flight above a big landing. This fundamentally important fact, and Michelangelo's further observation that only the

102. "....che l'imbasamento del Ricetto non sia occupato in luogo nessuno et resti libera..."

103. See above p. 166.

104. See also Panofsky, *loc. cit.*, p. 271.

105. Of the correspondence the following letters are preserved: *16. XII. 1558*, Michelangelo to Lionardo Buonarroti in Florence (Milanesi, *Lettere...*, p. 344). Concerns the making and despatching of the small terracotta model of the stair. A lost letter of Ammanati's is referred to. *23. XII. 1558*, Ammanati to Michelangelo (Frey, *Briefe...*, pp. 358-9) thanking for the model which Michelangelo is to send by Ammanati's father-in-law, G. A. Battiferro. *7. I. 1559*, Michelangelo to Lionardo Buonarroti (Milanesi, *op. cit.*, p. 348, with incorrect date). On the following Sunday Michelangelo will despatch the model from Rome. *13 (?) I. 1559*, Michelangelo to Ammanati (Milanesi, *op. cit.*, p. 550, without date). Important explanatory letter accompanying the model. *14. I. 1559*, Michelangelo to Lionardo B. (Milanesi, *op. cit.*, p. 349, with incorrect date). The model left Rome the day before. *29. I. 1559*, Ammanati to Michelangelo (Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 359). Ammanati has received the model. *18. II. 1559*, Ammanati from Florence to Duke Cosimo (Gaye, *Carteggio*, III, pp. 11-2, Panofsky, *op. cit.*, p. 268). Ammanati sends the model to Pisa with a request for Cosimo's placet. *19. II. 1559*, Francesco di Ser Jacopo from Florence to Cosimo (Gaye, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 12-3). Explains Ammanati's letter of the day before. *22. II. 1559*, Cosimo in Pisa sends an answer to Ammanati (Gaye, III, p. 13). The stair is to be constructed according to the model. The same information goes on the same day to Francesco di Ser Jacopo (Gaye, III, p. 13-4). Michelangelo's proposal in his letter of January 13, to build the stair of walnut is rejected by Cosimo. See also C. Frey, *Der literarische Nachlass...*, I, p. 418.

106. Incorrect interpretation by Panofsky, *loc. cit.*, p. 270, as he did not know the stage of 1533.

FIG. 36—*Staircase, from Ricetto Entrance*

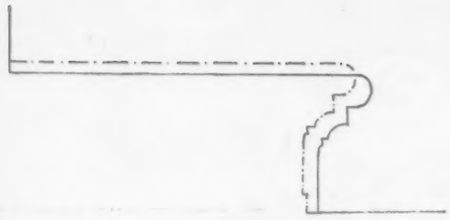

FIG. 37—*Section of the Steps of the Middle (broken line) and Side Flights*

FIG. 38—*Banisters Cutting into Steps of the Middle Flight*

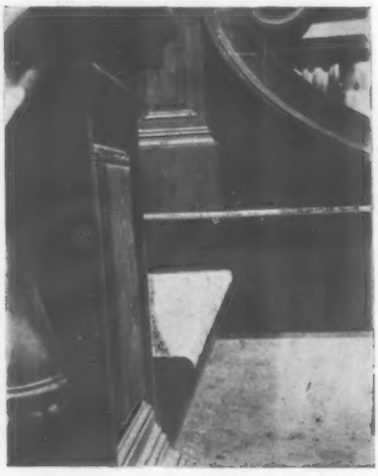

FIG. 39—*Tenth Step, between Middle and Side Flights*

FIG. 40—*Sketch for the Door between Library and Ricetto, Ricetto Side (British Museum 1859-6-25-550—Frey 117a)*

FIG. 41—*Sketch for the Door between Library and Ricetto, Library Side (British Museum 1859-6-25-550—Frey 117b)*

middle flight shall have banisters, while the side flights at every second step shall have a place to sit down ("un sedere"), clearly evokes the stairs as actually constructed (Fig. 36). For the execution of all details the master leaves the supervising architect responsible.

Panofsky has already removed the difficulties of interpreting the texts; he has explained the relation of the plan of 1558/9 to that of 1555, and the general coincidence of the existing stair with Michelangelo's ultimate intentions. These results may be completed by an exact review and analysis of the stair itself. A series of observations will, therefore, follow which have hitherto been neither recorded nor appreciated.

1, *a*—Each middle step is 18.5 cm. high (Fig. 37).
b—Each side step is 17 cm. high (Fig. 37).

2, *a*—The tread of each middle step is between 41.8 and 43 cm. (for the most part 42 cm.) deep.
b—The tread of each side step is 43-44 cm. deep.

3, *a*—Each step of the middle flight has on its under angle a molding 2 cm. high and 3 cm. deep.
b—All side steps are without this molding.

4—The middle steps are fashioned at the side in such a way as to make organic connection with the existing notch-board impossible.

5—The middle steps are fitted into the banister posts and the banister notch-bords only by force (Figs. 38, 48):
a—On the three lowest steps small pieces have been cut out at the point of connection with the banister post (on the lowest step the curved edge is merely flattened).
b—At the eighth step the cutting away of a piece $5\,{}^{1}|_{2}$ cm. broad on either side makes room for the projecting base of a banister post.
c—The ninth step is slightly cut. On either side about 1 cm. is missing.
d—4.4 cm. of the first step of the upper flight (the eleventh of the whole stair) is covered by posts.
e—The top oval step is overlapped 4.5 cm. on either side by posts: on the left the step is cut away, on the right overlaid in front, cut away behind.

6—The tenth step of the side flights (Fig. 39) which joins the side landings to the middle landing shows the following peculiarities:
a—Height of the step on each side $18\,{}^{1}|_{2}$ cm., that is the height of the middle, not of the side, steps.
b—Under molding as in the middle steps (see 3, *a*).
c—The front edge of the step projects a little beyond the banister posts: its rough, unpolished surface at this point shows it to have been cut from a longer step to fit into its present position.

7, *a*—Round the third oval step runs a rim $2\,{}^{1}|_{2}$ mm. deep at a distance of 6.5 cm. from the edge. The rim does not run round the whole step, but ceases at the back (distance between the ends of the rim 1.325 m.).

b—Since the third oval step is used as landing, its whole oval surface lies uncovered, and between the step and the notch-boards on either side a rough triangle is formed which has been filled with pieces of marble (constrasting in color with the gray-green *macigno* of the steps).

8—The fourth and fifth middle steps (first and second with "rivolte") show within the "rivolte" snail-shaped engravings. This motif does not appear elsewhere.

9—Between the top oval step and the door are patches of white marble similar to those of the third step (7, *b*).

These separate observations lead together to the following conclusions:

a—The middle steps are older than the steps of the side flights. This can be concluded from the lesser height and the greater depth of the side steps alone (1, *a*, *b*; 2, *a*, *b*), as this represents a historically later stage of development. Further, the middle steps are only with difficulty fitted into the present structure (4; 5, *a-e*).

b—The older middle steps are not here in the setting to which according to their form they should belong (4; 7, *a*, *b*; 9).

c—The middle steps were at the time of their insertion here clearly not quite complete. Probably only the fourth and fifth steps, with their snail-engraving, can be considered complete (8). It must be concluded that also the rim on the tread of the third step (7, *a*) was not to be limited to this alone, but should also have been cut in the three other oval steps.

d—The steps of the side flights were finished at the time of the construction of the stair and its final installation. To connect the side flights with the middle, one step of the old material was used on each side and cut to fit the new position (6, *a-c*).

e—All these facts and the conclusions drawn from them fit in with the hitherto disregarded reports of Vasari and other reliable sources, according to which at the time of the construction of the stair a great number of ready hewn steps were available in the Ricetto.[107]

f—It is clear that the steps of the present building belong to two periods. All the middle steps must be of the period 1533/4, so that just those the authenticity of which has been specially called in question are the ones made under the master's eye on detailed instructions.[108] The steps of the thirties would be shorter, more compact, steeper than those of the present building. Perhaps Michelangelo himself intervened for the formation of the third step into a landing. It can be imagined that the old master, after an interval of twenty-five years, would no longer have every detail in his head, he would obviously not remember the existence of completed steps—at all events not think of making use of them; he even proposed to make the stair of wood. Ammanati had no easy heritage: he had to face the

107. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, VII, p. 236: "... scala, della quale Michelagnolo aveva fatto fare molte pietre." Torelli's letter of 1550 runs: ".... et intendo ch'erano lavorate tutte le pietre, excetto il primo scaglione."

108. It is thus clear that the project of 1533, analyzed above, must have been altered because all the steps with "rivolte" were actually made at that date.

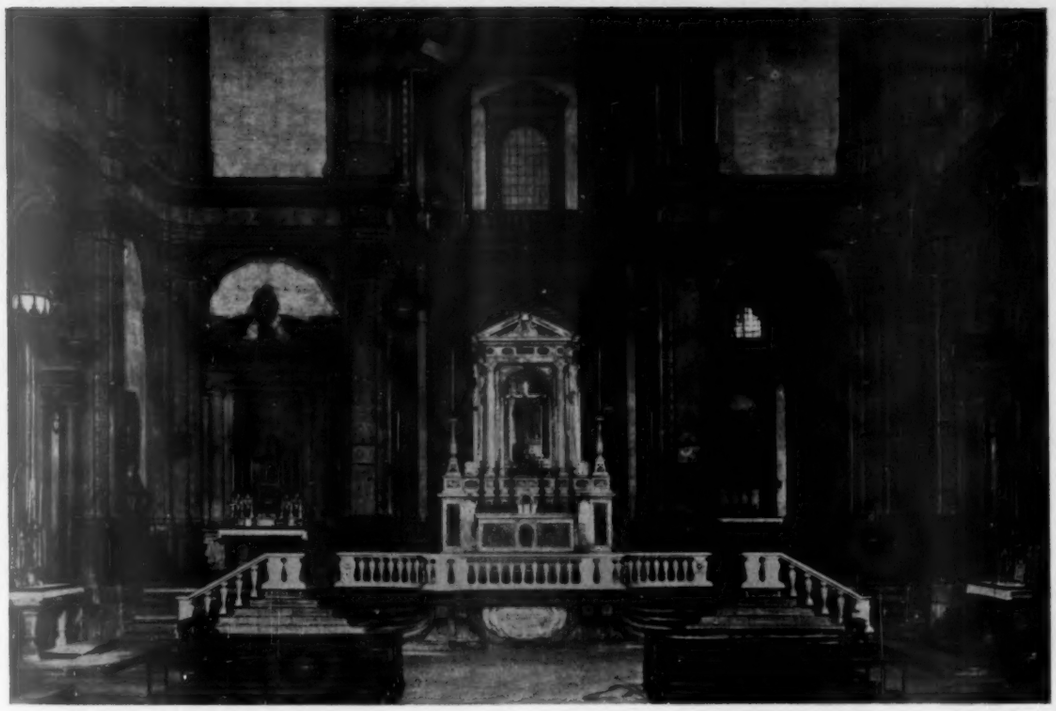

FIG. 42—*Staircase by Buontalenti in S. Stefano, Florence*

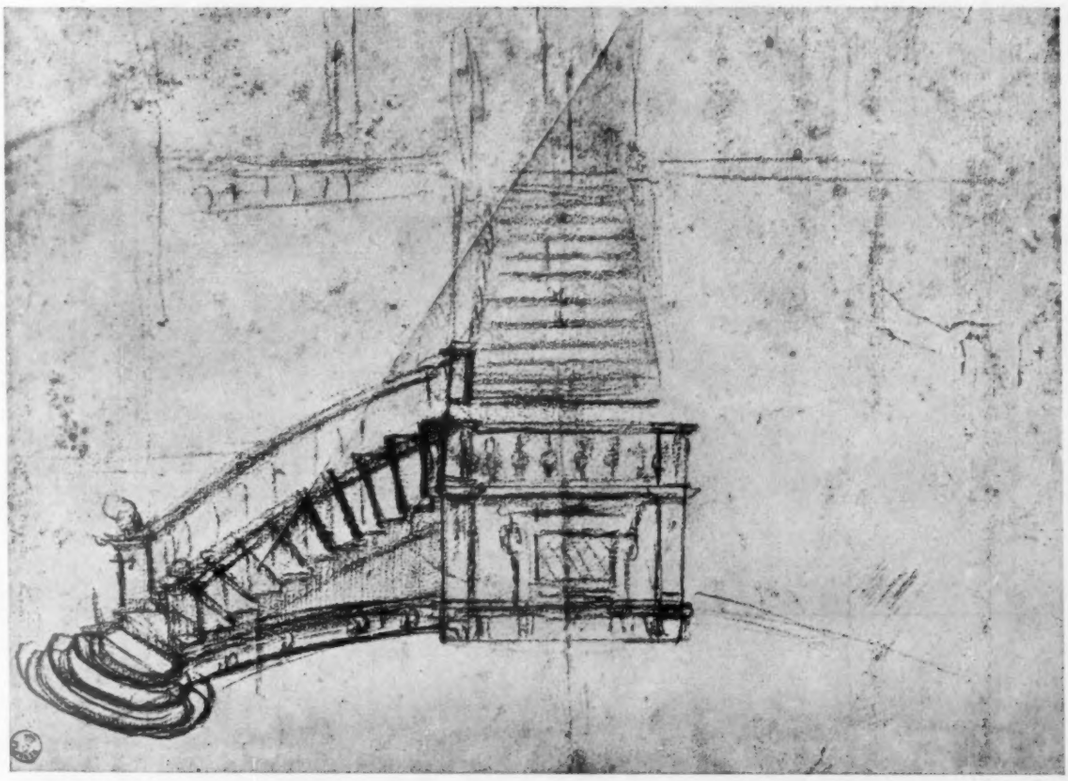

FIG. 43—*Sketch by Buontalenti for a Staircase (Uffizi dis. arch. 2309)*

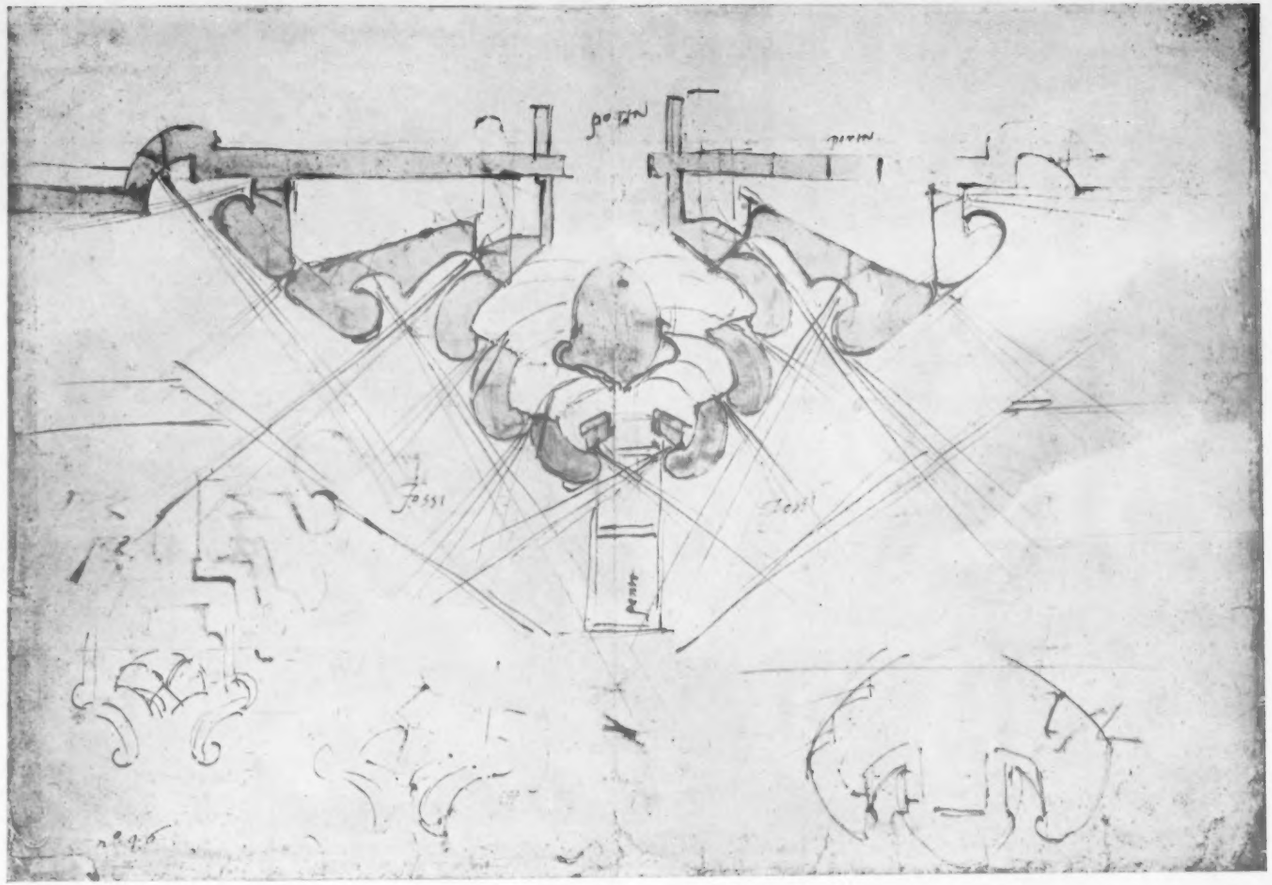

FIG. 44—*Sketch for Fortifications, 1529 (Casa Buonarroti)*

problem of fitting the old steps into the new circumstances. Hence, the marble-filled angles of the oval steps. Hence, the series of other complications which have been set out in detail (4; 5; 6, *c*). Now the extent of the creative part played by Ammanati can be accurately estimated: his are the banisters together with their end posts,[109] and the decorative scrolls which finish the vista of the side flights.

Anyone who has followed the manifold development of Michelangelo's ideas for the stair will be able to see elements of their every stage in the completed building. The idea of the triple stair was evolved in April, 1525 (VI), and retained through all subsequent phases. The threefold landing, which was at first connected with the back wall, and ran across the whole breadth of the room (III), led with stage V, which was not yet practicable, to the present landing. The oval steps of the center projecting beyond the side flights appear first as a vague, impracticable idea in phase IV, and after phase VII the idea of projecting the middle beyond the sides did not again disappear. The continuation of the stair in a single flight above the landing exists *in nuce* already in stage III; after phase VI the landing stands about halfway up, but the idea of the triple stair running right up to the door remained still under consideration (XII). The horseshoe bend was to be found, though in quite another connection, in stage VI. Then the idea served to connect middle and side flights; now it cuts off the side flights from the outside like a banister. Of the origin of the snail motif on the middle steps in the form of the steps of stage VI we have already spoken. All these motifs, reaching far back in their origin and springing from very different conceptions of the whole stair, were ultimately blended together to take shape in the existing plan. The characteristics of this final plan will be set out later.

A very revealing chapter could be written by following up the influences of these various conceptions of the stair. Here only this can be said, that stages leading up to the final solution have been richer in influence than the final solution itself. Particularly in the designs of Buontalenti (Figs. 42, 43) the earlier stages of the Ricetto stair recur again and again as the starting point for his own conceptions. The most remarkable and unlikely phases of the stair development are phases VIII and IX, in which the purely purposive idea falls further and further under the dominion of independent, compelling abstract ideas. The same seeking after complicated geometrical ground plans and abstruse forms manifests itself in work of the same year but of quite other content—the fortification plans (Fig. 44). When in 1529 the defences of Florence were in Michelangelo's hands he allowed himself to be guided in his planning of the forts by the idea of the mutual cover of shooting ranges. Hence, come from his pencil forms which can only be compared with the stair designs. Here and there actually identical forms appear. In these fortification designs the acute angle forms of stair design VIII, *c*, are to be found, and even a snail form in many variations, similar to that on the middle steps. It is no chance that identical forms should appear in such widely separated categories as stairs and fortifications. In no other kind of building would such a degree of abstract thought have been possible

109. For this reason alone the identification of the sketch Casa Buonarroti 37Av (Tolnai in *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1928, p. 433, fig. 39) with an angle post of the banisters is not tenable.

without completely ruining the function of the building. The similarity of these stair and fortification designs is so striking that it would be impossible to differentiate between them but for secondary evidence. Nevertheless, the designs in both these cases led to the evolution from abstract forms to new forms adapted to specific ends.

Plans for a Supplementary Reading Room

I. At the very beginning of the whole enterprise appears the idea of separating off small rooms from the main library for the pupose of sparing its costly splendor, and to serve as quiet rooms for study. Between 1524 and 1526 this idea underwent a series of vicissitudes which can today be reconstructed; no part of it was ever realized. Already on March 10, 1524, a plan for various small rooms was prepared. Fattucci notices it in his letter to Michelangelo as follows: "Rimandovi la pianta della Libreria che s'à a fare, ed in capo della Libreria v'è segniato dua studietti, che mettono in mezzo la finestra, che si riscontra coll'entrata della Libreria; ed in quegli studietti vole mettere certi libri più secreti; e ancora vole adoperare quelli che mettono in mezo la porta."[110] The "studietti" thus take the window at the head of the hall and the door of the entrance wall for their centers. The plan allows only of the conclusion that from either end of the long rectangle of the hall two small rooms were to be cut off. Theoretically, the hall would thus acquire the shape of a Greek cross, though given the existing proportions this would hardly have appeared. The length of the hall, according to the same letter of the 10th of March, is 96 braccia (55.68 m.), while from a text of April 3, 1524, it transpires that the "studioli" were each to be only 6 braccia (3.48 m.) long.[111]

II. The plan of the four small separate rooms, each cut out of the big hall, was clearly abandoned as early as the first days of April, 1524, in favor of the idea of a "crociera." This appears in a drawing by Michelangelo mentioned in a letter of April 13 from Fattucci in Rome.[112] Throughout four months the arms of the cross remained an integral part of the scheme. But on August 2, 1524, Fattucci wrote for the pope: "Perrora non vole, che voi faciate la crociera, ma lasciate in modo che, quando [si] lavora, fare si possa."[113] In fact, this spells renunciation of the idea of the arms of the cross.

The material known today allows of no reconstruction of the cross plan. It is touched on only in Michelangelo's memorandum of a date prior to April 3, 1525 (probably summer, 1524), in the words: "La croce facendo diciotto braccia per ogni verso e 'l vano d'ogni lato vi va di muro della medesima altezza e grossezza," that is to say each arm of the cross was to be 18 braccia long (10.44 m.) and the same height as the hall. This cross must presumably be pictured not, as Carl Frey[114] maintains, in the middle of the hall, but attached to the head of the hall opposite the entrance wall. This is clear in view of Poccianti's round building of 1821, which

110. Gotti, *Vita di Michelangiolo*, 1875, I, p. 165.

111. Fattucci to Michelangelo: "....et fate, che in testa della libreria venga una finestra in mezzo di due studioli di circa sei braccia l'uno, come è disegniato nell'autra, et dua altri che mettino in mezzo a porta" (Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 221).

112. See Fattucci's letter to Michelangelo of April 13, 1524 (Frey, *op. cit.*, p. 224).

113. Frey. *op. cit.*, p. 234.

114. *Handzeichnungen*, text p. 81.

breaks—as would the arm of a cross—the long wall of the library, and so sensibly disturbs the continuous effect of the whole (see below). This thesis is supported also by the fact that the idea of the cross was followed by that of the "piccola libreria," which was, without any doubt, to be attached to the end of the library opposite the entrance.

III. The third stage is revealed in a letter from Fattucci of April 12, 1525,[115] in which he says: "Circa la capella in capo la libreria dice [the pope], non vi vole cappelle, ma vole, sia una libreria secreta per tenere certi libri piu pretiosi che gli altri." From this passage it is clear that before April 12, 1525, there was in Rome a plan of Michelangelo's in which the south short wall of the library opened into a room which was designated as chapel. The pope, however, rejected this chapel room and demanded instead—as he had already done at the very beginning—a "libreria secreta."

A reminder of the chapel scheme is preserved in a sketch by Michelangelo. On sheet Frey 71 (Fig. 23), the top left-hand corner, is the ground plan of an oblong room articulated with pilasters and angle pillars and corresponding to our idea of a "cappella." No agreement has as yet been reached as to the meaning of this plan.[116] The production of the line surrounding the chapel-like room beyond its boundary naturally seems to indicate the wall of the library. This speculation becomes a certainty in conjunction with the fact that both the other plans on the sheet repeat the same wall: that on the right below shows the Ricetto with the northern part of the library (see above), that on the left below the same part but without marking the wall dividing Ricetto and library.[117] As the oblong plan sketched at the top cannot be the plan of the Ricetto it must be of the south end of the library. Sheet Frey 71 thus shows the form of the rooms placed at the north and south ends of the library in a plan of the beginning of April, 1525. The contemporaneity of the three plans on the sheet is to be deduced not only from the unity of their content but also from the threefold repetition of the same surrounding wall on more or less the same scale.

More important than the information given by sheet Frey 71 on the character of the proposed chapel, is the possibility, following on the present interpretation of the upper plan, of exactly dating the whole sheet—which is of the greatest importance in the history of the stair. In deference to the pope's wish of April 12, 1525, Michelangelo was compelled to revise the plan of the rectangular chapel. Then for the first time appeared a scheme for a small library building which found favor with the pope.

IV. The final scheme for the "piccola libreria" thus appeared after the 12th of April but before the 10th of November of the same year, on which date Fattucci informed Michelangelo: "Io ebbi una di Giovanni Spina con certi disegni della pichola

115. Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 250.

116. Thode holds that this plan is the sketch for a part of the library ceiling, Frey that it is a plan for the Medici Chapel. These identifications are incorrect, as is that of Popp (*Medici-Kapelle*, p. 168), who thinks it is a side room for the Medici Chapel in which Michelangelo for some time intended to place the pope's tomb. Popp's opinion is based on Fattucci's letter of June 7, 1524 (Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 230): it is disproved by the fact alone that the plan of the "side room" is bounded on the left by a wall which bounds at the same time the so-called Medici Chapel. See also Popp in *Münchener Jahrbuch*, IV, 1927, p. 391, note 3.

117. Before the north short wall indication of a few steps: the way up to the upper cloister, and still today the approach to the Laurenziana. The cloister is also indicated by lines on the right. Steps and cloister are again roughly indicated on the Ricetto plan.

libreria, la quale mostrai a N. S., et dice, che vole, che la si facia, come avete disegniato."[118] This scheme, decided upon for execution, may be recognized—as by C. Frey and Thode—in two sheets of the Casa Buonarroti (Figs. 45, 46; Frey 166, 167). The room has the form of an isosceles triangle. It can hardly be doubted that the "piccola libreria" was to be on the south short end of the big room. This can be concluded from the following arguments: 1—The "capella" dealt with in section III lies "in capo la libreria." 2—Ground plan Frey 167 clearly shows the junction of the "piccola libreria" with the big room. The beginning of the east and west side walls is visible, and Michelangelo wrote with his own hand in the space of the big room: "e 'l vano della libreria." 3—The braccio scale above on the left checks the width of the room. This is approximately 17 braccia, 9.86 m., which can only mean the breadth of the library.[119]

The question as to which of the two plans is the earlier is decided not merely by the degree of their finish, but also by the nature of their internal arrangement. Actually, the more sketchy Frey 166 is also the earlier, on the following grounds. The sides of the triangle are each divided by two pilasters into three flat niches. The middle niche is somewhat wider than the side ones, so that not a plain repetition but a rhythmical accentuation results (*a-b-a*). Nor does the simplicity of the articulation disavow connection with the big room. Even the idea of bringing the book desks into the design of the walls comes from the big library. The desks are so sketched as to leave passages leading to the architecturally important middle niche. Further, the arrangement of the furniture on a ship's-keel principle shows the axis of the library to be dominant here. The "piccola libreria" is conceived simply as a natural prolongation of the big room; the long line of the hall finds its natural termination in the apex of the triangle.

As here the "piccola libreria," so at the beginning was the Ricetto conceived on the lines of the big room and as a unity with it. As in the Ricetto development leads to differentiation and separation, so in the "piccola libreria." This next and probably final stage is shown on Frey 167 (Fig. 46).[120] Three elements have, in comparison with the earlier sketch, been transformed. The unusually rich plastic articulation of the wall stands now in very sensible contrast to the wall treatment of the big room. The furniture is made to correspond with the line of the ground plan, with no regard to the wall articulation. And, finally, the idea of the axial line has been supplanted by that of an independent, shut-off, centralized room. Entering the room now, one is not led on in the momentarily interrupted axial line of the big room; now, the "banco tondo" barring the entrance brings that axial line to an abrupt end and immediately reveals in its circular form a quite otherwise articulated centralized room. In the previous design each side of the triangle formed an isolated whole; the semicircular recesses rounding off the angles could only be seen as separate entities (whence the recess opposite the entrance attained its absorbing

118. Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 250. Frey, *Handzeichnungen*, text, gives already the correct date for this final plan.

119. The library is actually more than one braccio wider. This mistake is not important since this is not a scale but a free-hand drawing.

120. Frey recognizes correctly in sheet 167 the later stage, while Thode (II, pp. 120 f., III, nos. 141 f.) pays no attention to the sequence of plans. A real analysis of the meaning of both sheets has not yet been undertaken. Sheet Frey 167 is engraved in G. I. Rossi, *La Libreria Mediceo Laurenziana*, 1739.

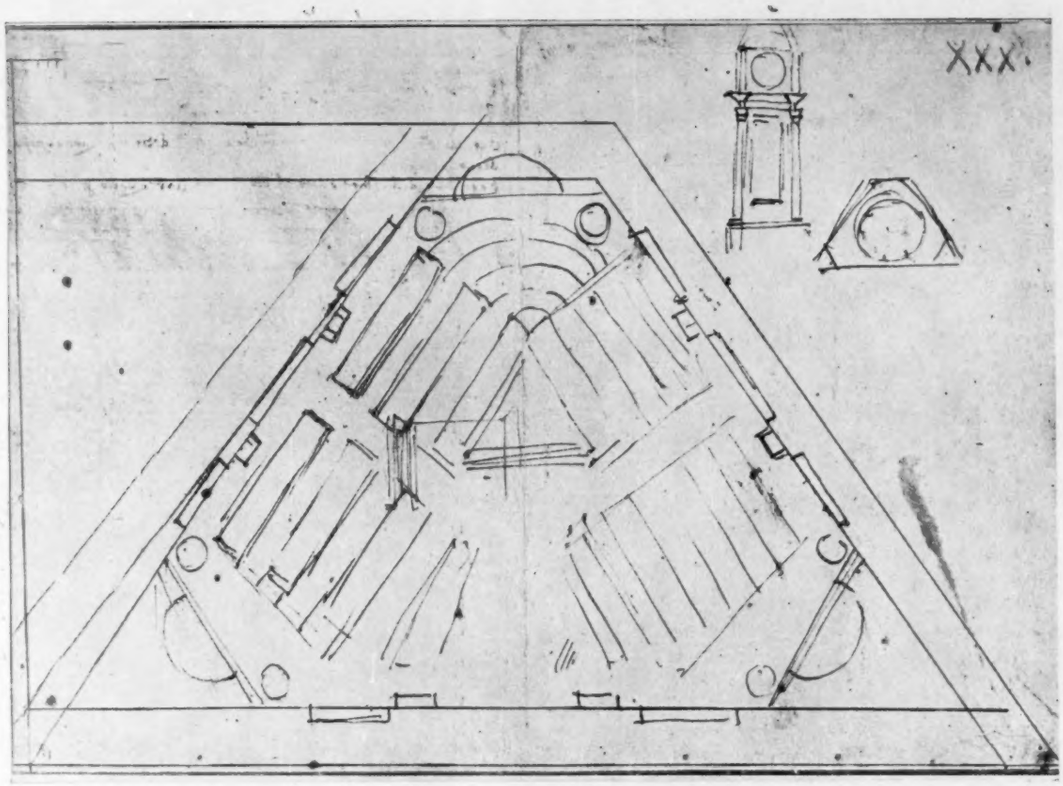

FIG. 45—*Sketch for the Piccola Libreria* (*Casa Buonarroti 79—Frey 166*)

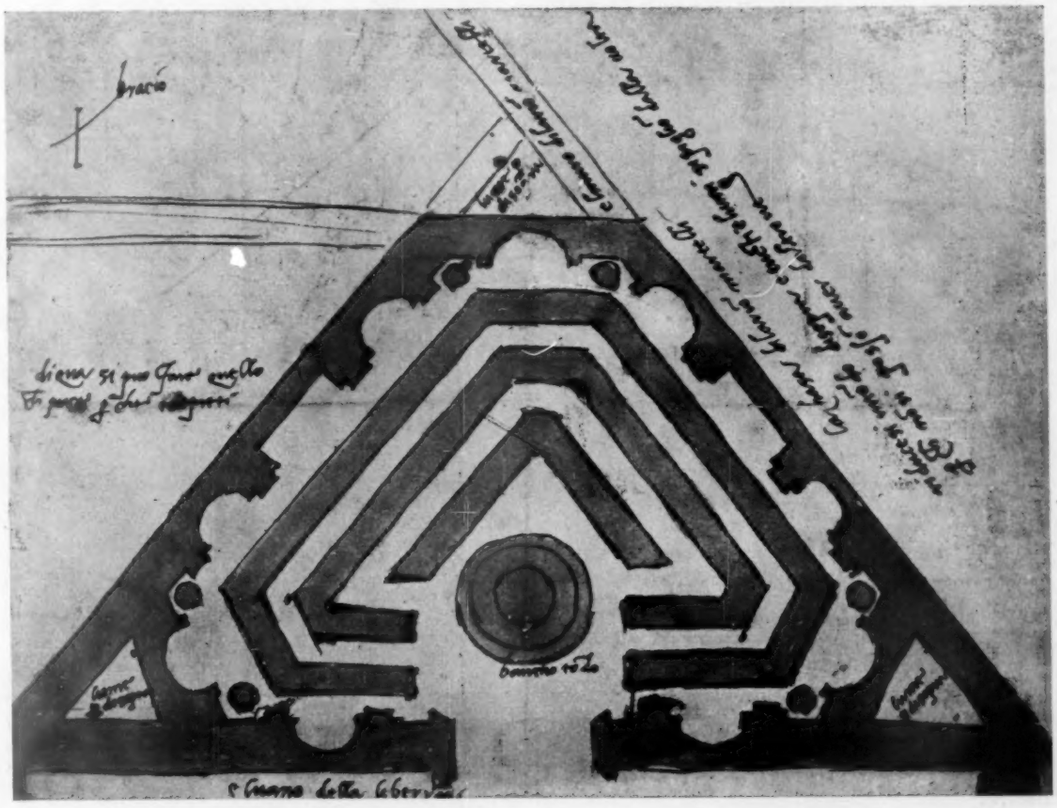

FIG. 46—*Sketch for the Piccola Libreria* (*Casa Buonarroti 79—Frey 167*)

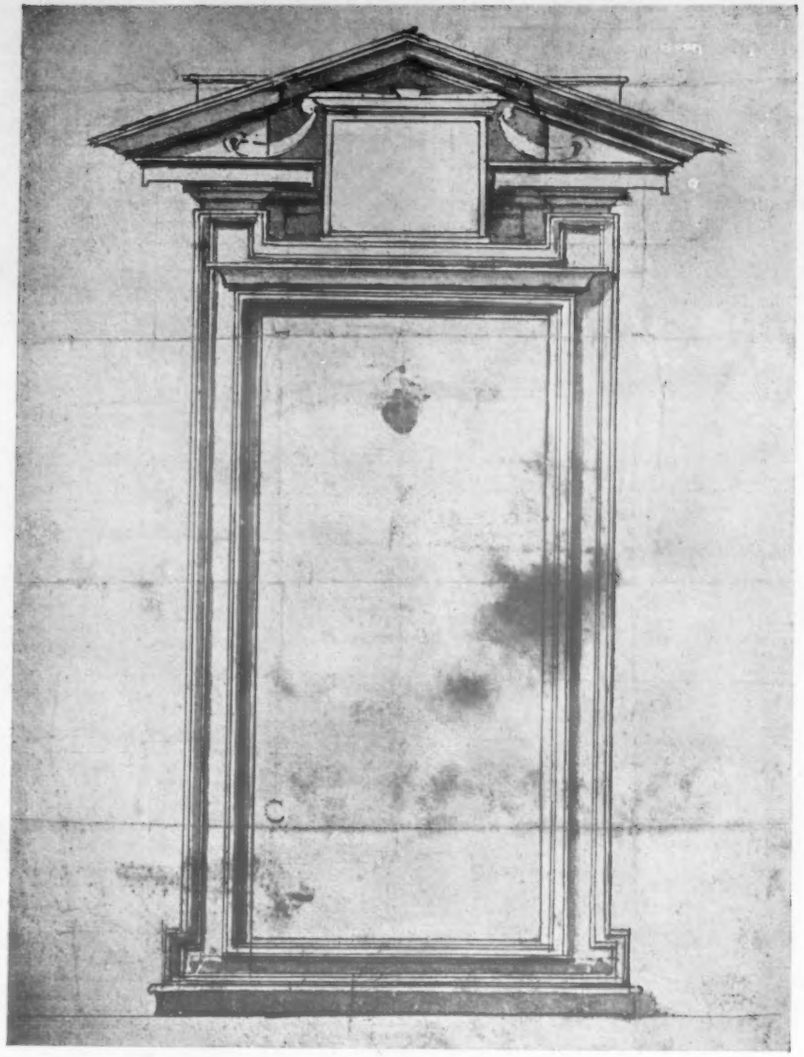

FIG. 47—*Scale Drawing for the Entrance Door to the Library, Ricetto Side (Casa Buonarroti 98)*

FIG. 48—*Entrance Door to the Library, Ricetto Side*

axial significance). Now, on the other hand, the flat niches join with the outer semicircular recesses and destroy the separate identity of three sides of the triangle.

Of the elevation of the walls we know very little. There exists only, for the earlier scheme, the small sketch of a panel in the top right-hand corner of sheet 166 (Fig. 45). This design is a clear counterpart to the final form of the first plan for the Ricetto (Fig. 11; Frey 234), which can likewise be dated after April 12, 1525. Above the niche of the main story framed by projecting orders there is, as in the Ricetto scheme, a high attic with a circular opening. Here, as there, indirect lighting is contemplated: the small triangular spaces cut off at the angles of the big triangle were to serve as sources of light. The writing on sheet 167: "lume per di sopra" shows that the ceilings of these diminutive spaces were to be glazed. The light admitted here would pass through the circular openings above the niches into the library.[121]

From the practical and from the artistic points of view the "piccola libreria" was the completion of the whole library plan. The hall with its stair led into the official library and from here proceeded the private study. The sequence of shapes—square, quadrant, triangle—is based on a single geometric figure. The two small rooms, with strong wall relief, hold the large low-relieved room between them. The articulation of the approximately square Ricetto is based on the concentration of each wall on its own center (*a-b-aa-b'-aa-b-a*). In place of this self-contained, rhythmical arrangement, the big oblong room has a simple alternation which could be repeated to infinity: in the centralized "piccola libreria" all three walls are brought together in a rhythmical, continuous alternation without end or beginning (*a-b-a-α-a-α-a-b-a-α-a-b-a-α-a-α*).

The "piccola libreria" was never built. In the spring of 1526, during the building of the Ricetto, Michelangelo obtained once more the pope's placet for the "piccola libreria," to which Clement VII had already agreed on November, 10, 1525. On April 3, 1526, Fattucci informed Michelangelo that after the completion of the Ricetto the pope would like the "piccola libreria" to be taken in hand.[122] This postponement soon became complete abandonment. For already in the summer funds for the library were materially reduced. At the end of the year began the long period of the cessation of all work.[123] Later only the completion of what was already begun was considered, with no mention of the wish for a private study. But the need for this room remained and was first satisfied in the circular building erected by Poccianti at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Tradition was certainly by then no longer alive; Poccianti had no idea of Michelangelo's intentions.

Apart from the Casa Buonarroti plan, we have one other vivid testimony of Michelangelo's "piccola libreria." The note on sheet 167 runs that the wall of the house of Ilarione Martelli shall form the west wall of the triangular library.[124]

121. In the middle of the ceiling of the "piccola libreria" there was to be, as the inscription on sheet 167 shows, a large glazed "occhio."

122. Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 279. Fattucci to Michelangelo, April 3, 1526: "Et perche dice [the pope], che voi volevi la resolutione della pichola libreria per potere fare il tramezo fra il ricetto et la libreria, dice, che voi lo facciate come se la picola fussi fatta, la quale vole si facia, come sara finito il ricetto." Frey in the text to his *Handzeichnungen* rightly maintains that in order to build the wall separating library and Ricetto Michelangelo must know the form of the opposite wall—that dividing library and "piccola libreria"—i. e. the character of the "piccola libreria" itself.

123. See, Frey, *Briefe...*, pp. 287, 289, 290.

124. Inscribed between the lines of the surrounding wall on Frey 167 are the words: "e l muro dilarion martelli." Below: "la chasa dilarion martelli." And referring to the lighting of the "piccola libreria:"

This wall is still standing today. It stands there as eloquent testimony of conditions which could not be avoided, but which a phenomenal mental agility turned into an integral part of an apparently arbitrary plan.

Doors, Ceiling, Desks, Floor

I. From February 23, 1526, the building of the Ricetto proceeded on the final plan. The rapid progress of the construction demanded that all remaining details should be worked out and decided upon. First of all, the doors: the entrance door from the cloister to the Ricetto, and the door communicating thence with the library. To give the latter its final form on the library side the master had to be absolutely clear as to the character of the room behind the opposite south wall. After the 3rd of April, 1526, when he had received final orders as to the "piccola libreria,"[125] he could begin work unhampered on the communicating door. From a letter of Fattucci it appears that Michelangelo's design for this door reached Rome on the 17th of April. Here the Ricetto side only is concerned, the side which was to carry the inscription. The pope expressed himself as delighted with Michelangelo's plan, but further correspondence was to take place as to the form of the inscription. On the 6th of June Michelangelo received the drawing for the door returned from Rome, with the question of the inscription still not quite settled.[126] The restriction of work to the library from the summer of 1526, and its complete cessation in the autumn of the same year meant that the execution of the door was not at once put in hand. The question remained dormant until 1533. The contract of the 20th of August of this year between Michelangelo and the stone masons Simone di Jacopo di Berto and the various Lucchesini allotted the task of the execution of two doors.[127] These were, without doubt, the entrance door to the Ricetto and the door communicating with the library. The contract was to be completed by March, 1534. But of these two only the library door was actually carried out at that time.

For this door there exist various small preparatory sketches by Michelangelo, and also a complete working drawing both of the library and of the Ricetto faces (Figs. 40, 41, 47, 49).[128] These drawings are not of the contract year 1533, but belong to the schemes of early 1526. Their origin in the spring of 1526 is fixed by some profile drawings of which insufficient notice has hitherto been taken. On the two sides of the Casa Buonarroti sheet 53 (Frey 49, 50) the following profile

"riducesi in tondo disopra e tucti e lumi si piglion dalla volta perche non si posson aver daltrove." Near the east wall, still to be erected: "di qua si puo fare quello che piace perche e de preti." On this side there is no restriction as the ground belongs to the priests. On the purchase of the house of Ilarione Martelli see letters of November 10 and 29, 1525: The pope has decided "di comperare detta casa et di adoperare quello che se n'ara di bisognio et il resto apigionare." On December 30, 1525, Ilarione Martelli had received a first payment of L. 42 for "muro si è comperato da lui per conto della libreria." See Gronau in *Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsig.*, 1911, p. 73.

125. See above, note 122.

126. Letters from Fattucci to Michelangelo of April 18 and June 6. See Frey, *Briefe...*, pp. 280, 284; Thode, II, p. 116.

127. See Milanesi, *Lettere...*, p. 707. On this contract see above, p. 167.

128. 1, London, British Museum 1859-6-25-550 (Figs. 40, 41); Frey, pl. 117, *a* and *b*: sketches for the door. 2, Casa Buonarroti 98 (Fig. 47); Geymüller, pl. 4, fig. 2; Thode, III, no. 153: scale drawing of the Ricetto side. 3, Casa Buonarroti 111 (Fig. 49): scale drawing of the library side.

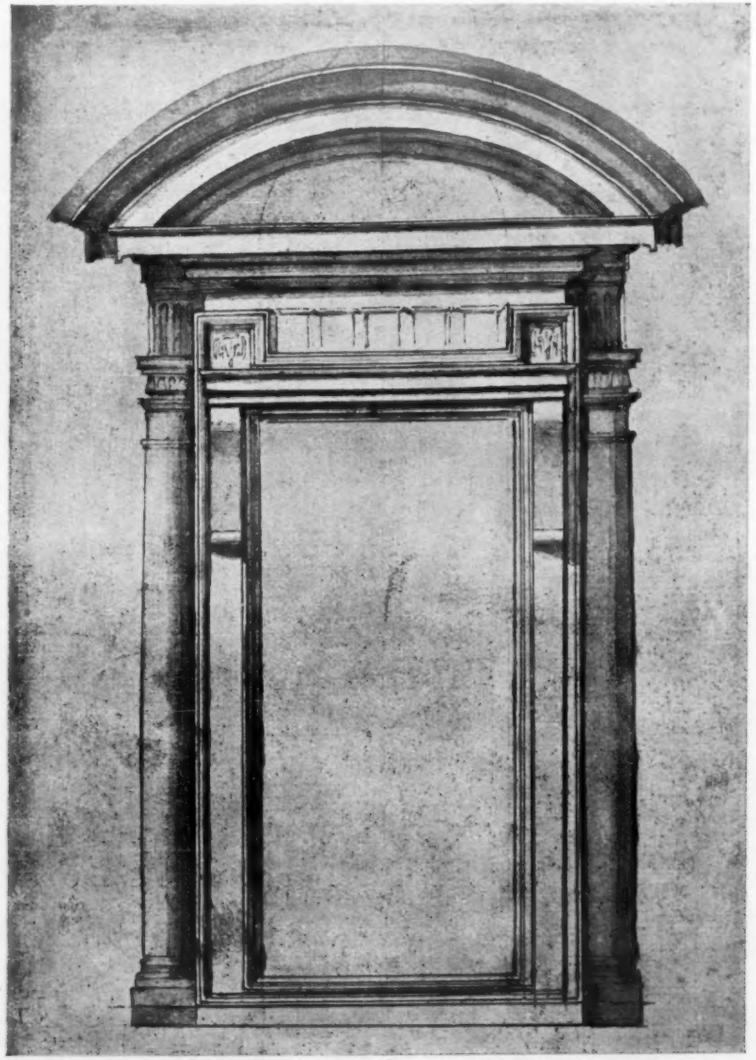

FIG. 49—*Scale Drawing for the Entrance Door to the Library, Library Side* (*Casa Buonarroti 111*)

FIG. 50—*Entrance Door to the Library, Library Side*

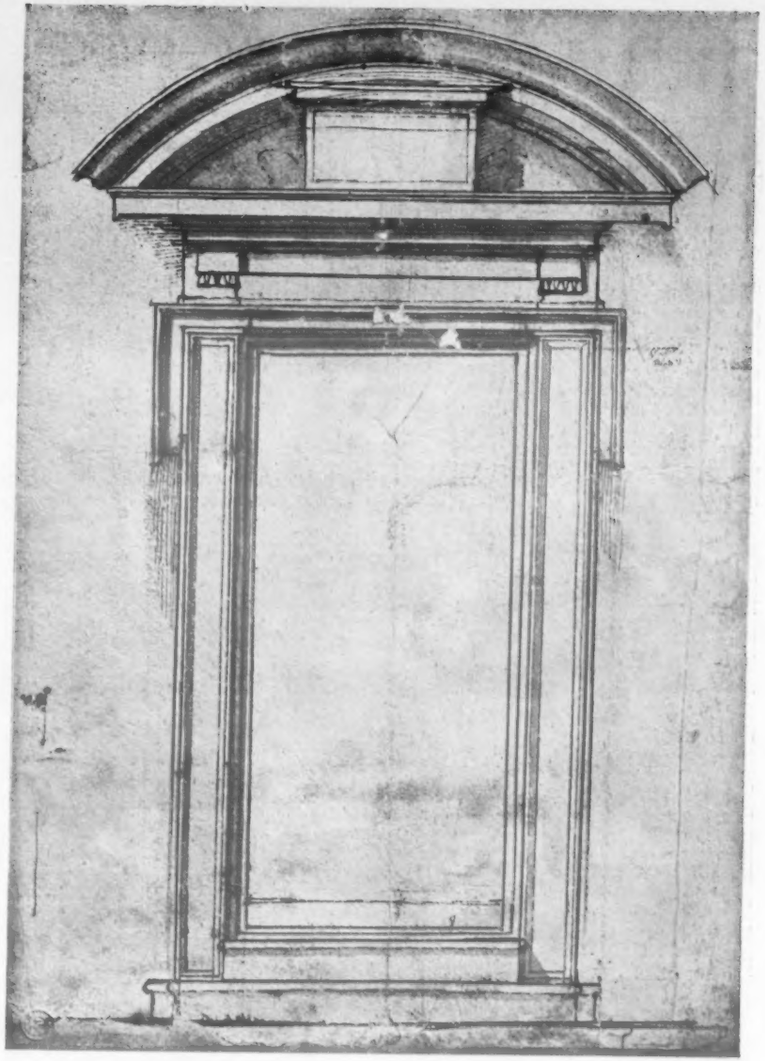

FIG. 51—*Scale Drawing for the Entrance Door to the Ricetto (Casa Buonarroti 95)*

FIG. 52—*Entrance Door to the Ricetto, Outside, Executed by G. M. Baldi, c. 1700*

drawings are to be found for the library side of the door: 1—on the left of Frey 49 and below on Frey 50 are almost identical profiles for the outer angle of the triangular gable as far as below the finely molded part of the cornice; 2—on the right of Frey 49 a section through the actual door frames; 3—Frey 50, above, a section through the arch of the segmental gable. The profiles drawn for triangular gable and door frames agree with the actual construction.[129] Only the profile of the segmental gable has been altered. The drawing is very near to the corresponding profile of the windows immediately below the vault of the Medici Chapel. From this an idea can be formed of the niche molding originally planned for the gable, later considerably simplified. A note from Michelangelo's pen on sheet Frey 49 says that this profile drawing was to be given to Ceccone as a model. Francesco di Corbignano, called il Ceccone, was concerned with Michelangelo's stone masonry during the 1520's when he was primarily occupied with the Medici Chapel: he is not, on the other hand, among the stone masons who were specifically entrusted with the execution of the door in 1533.

Thus, the date 1526 is fixed for the design for the door which was executed in 1533; its nature must now be discussed. In the London sketches Frey 117, *a* and *b* (Figs. 40, 41), Michelangelo showed both sides of the communicating door. On 117, *a*, are four experiments for the form of the Ricetto side,[130] on 117, *b*, an advanced drawing for the library side. Clearly, from the beginning the intention is to give in contrast with the columns of the Ricetto a flat effect to its door, and in contrast with the pilasters of the library a strong plastic column motif as door frame. In fact, however, variations of the motif of the projecting frame lines were used on both sides. It remains on the Ricetto side the dominant feature, while in the scale drawing for the library side it only just appears to vanish again in a very much differentiated scheme.

The scale drawing Casa Buonarroti 98 (Fig. 47) is to a great extent outlined in the original sketch Frey 117, *a*. The agreement between scale drawing and the existing door was first recognized by Geymüller. Although the differences between the actual construction (Fig. 48) and the scale drawing are only trivial, they must, nevertheless, be noticed. The outer door frame of the drawing has a considerably broader molding than that executed. The surface between outer and inner frame is thus actually broader and more effective than that shown on the drawing. This has its particular significance. The inner door frame has its own narrow chamfered cornice, the general effect of which is to separate inner and outer frame. In the actual construction the distance between inner and outer frame is increased by making the outer molding very fine, instead of equal in weight to the inner, thus leaving a broader flat surface to separate outer molding from inner door frame. The function of the surface bounded by the molding becomes clear only in the actual construction. The surface is given a dynamic upward impulse; above its

129. Besides the moldings for the doors the sheet contains one section of a step with the inscription: "e modani degli scaglioni dati a cecchone." This section is much richer than that of the step actually executed and agrees to a considerable extent with the two steps outside the Ricetto door.

130. Thode refers a part of these drawings to windows, principally Casa Buonarroti 98 on account of the moldings below. But actually these moldings are executed in correspondence with the drawing.

projections, framed still in molding, the gable rests. The flat surface thus effectually prevents any union between the two parts which properly belong together: door frame and gable.

The connection of the London sketch Frey 117, *b*, with the scale drawing Casa Buonarroti 111 (Fig. 49)[131] has not hitherto been recognized. In the drawing, as in the sketch, the door, framed with big brackets and having its frame moldings projecting above the lintel, is placed against a receding aedicula of columns. With a few unessential differences, the double gable is already indicated in the sketches: the triangular gable encompasses the segmental. The scale drawing shows, indeed, only a big segmental gable, while in the actual construction a smaller triangular gable is encompassed within this segment. Instead of the "harmonious" gable-within-gable of the sketch, we have this reversed to suggest conflict.

The actual door framing on the library side (Fig. 50) has been, in spite of its fundamental agreement with the scale drawing (Fig. 49), developed considerably beyond the drawing. The present door is composed of the following planes: *a*—There is a column aedicula with segmental gable. *b*—In front of this, and partly covering the columns, is a massive block. *c*—On the upper surface of the block a cornice is set, not quite so wide as the block and therefore not organically connected with it. The triangular gable above does not appear to be resting on the cornice, but rather the cornice to be hanging from the gable. *d*—The door-opening with finely molded frame breaks through block *b*. *e*—The connection between the three planes *a*, *b*, *c* is effected in the under side of the gable, which is carried round the angles of each plane. The connection of the door frame with block *b* takes place as follows: the vertical panel-like hollowing of block *b*, rising to the lintel, merges with the inner door frames to a broad molding, and reveals its real character only just above the lintel where, instead of finishing in a horizontal, it comes to an abrupt termination.

The "cleavage" of the frame effected in both scale drawings by the isolation of the inner molding, and executed on the Ricetto side in a more extreme form of the same manner, is brought about again on the inside of the library by other architectural devices: the narrow outer door frame appears at the same time above the lintel as of one piece with block *b*, in which the door is placed. The idea of frame cleavage, as on the Ricetto side of the door, is carried out in the small, nearly square niches above the tabernacles of the Ricetto's main story (Fig. 14). A vital relationship is thus created between the door and the tabernacle divisions.[132]

II. It has been pointed out that the entrance door to the Ricetto was to be put in hand in accordance with the contract of the 20th of August, 1533. The contract was not fulfilled. The remarkable story of the outside of this door can be completely reconstructed. The evidence to be disposed of is, chronologically arranged, as follows: *a*—Scale drawing of the Casa Buonarroti 95 (Fig. 51). Early spring to summer, 1526.[133] *b*—Scale drawing of the Uffizi dis. arch. 1925 (Fig. 53), definitely attributable

131. See Thode, III, no. 161. Thode is here thinking of the Tribunes in St. Peter's. Otherwise the sheet has not hitherto been noticed.

132. The earliest representation of this kind of frame rupture is seen in the sketch for a window Frey 209 (Fig. 16, February, 1525). This sketch in its turn is preceded by the Haarlem sheet.

133. The date 1526 can be proved for sheet 95 by the fact that the drawing with door moldings of 1526 contains also a section for the steps outside the

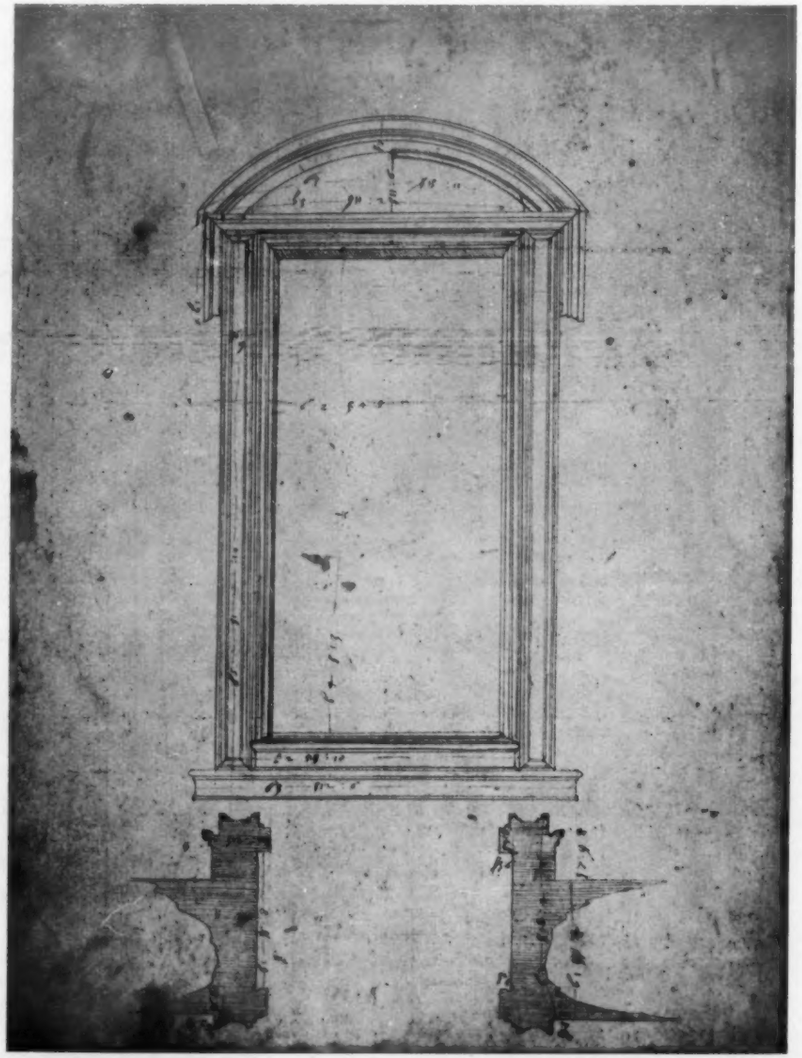

FIG. 53—*Reconstruction by G. A. Dosio from Worked Pieces for the Entrance Door to the Ricetto (Uffizi dis. arch. 1925)*

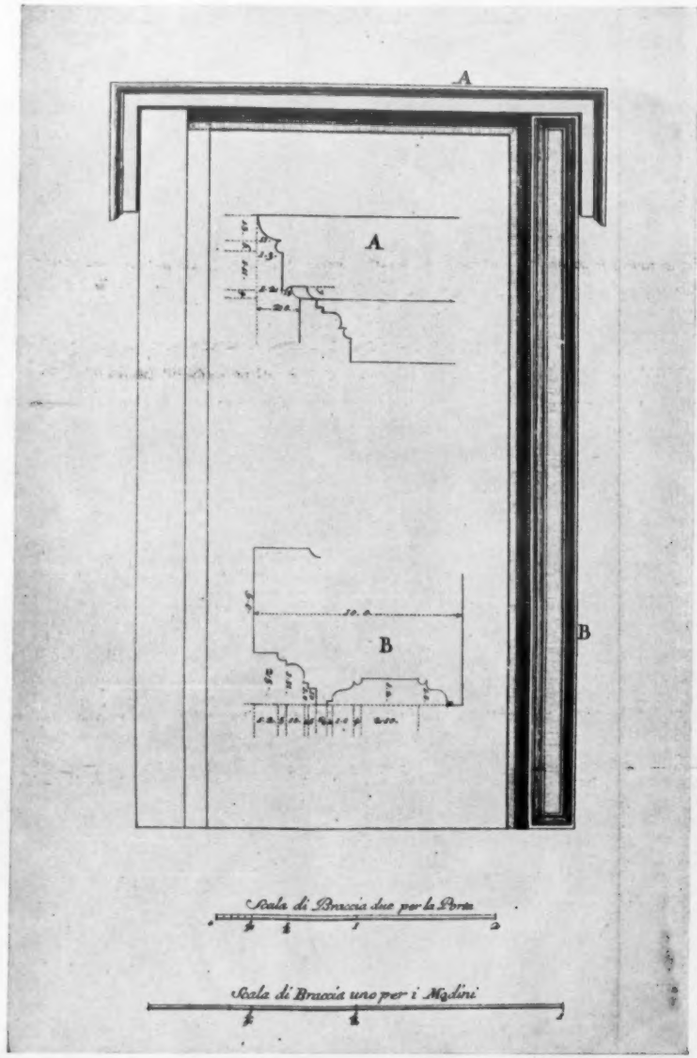

FIG. 54—*Parts for the Entrance Door to the Ricetto (after G. I. Rossi)*

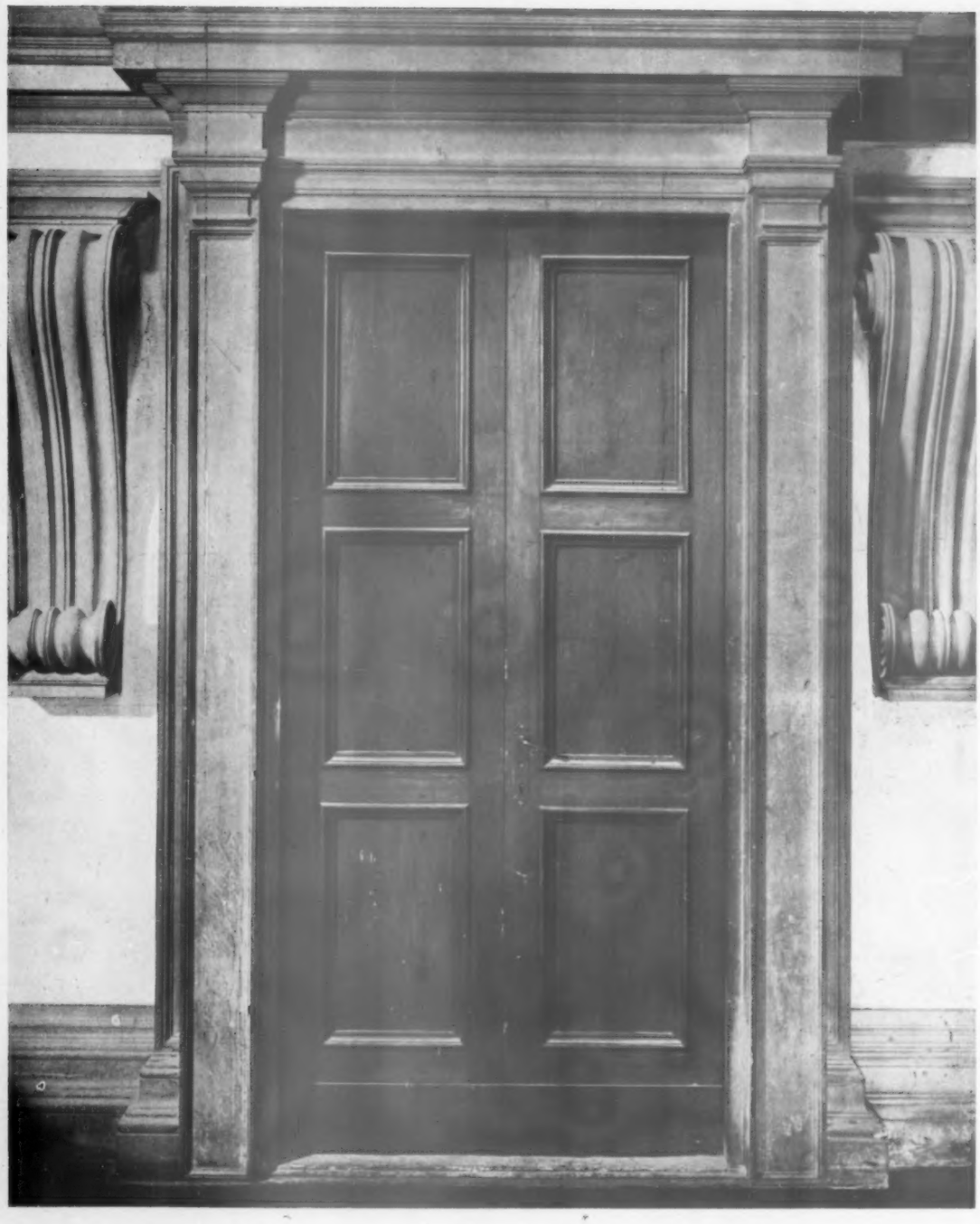

FIG. 55—*Entrance Door to the Ricetto, Inside*

on grounds of technique to G. A. Dosio. Date 1550, approximately.[134] *c*—Drawing and text by the architect G. B. Nelli in the voluminous collection, including measured drawings of the Ricetto, Uffizi dis. arch. 3696-3739, the title of which runs: "Opere d'Architettura di Michelagnolo Buonarroti fatte per S. Lorenzo di Firenze misurate e disegnate da Giovan Batista Nelli al Serenissimo Ferdinando Principe di Toscana." With dedication of April 10, 1687 (fol. 5).[135] *d*—Text on p. 31 and plates 20-22 (Fig. 54) in the work of Giuseppe Ignazio Rossi, *La Libreria Mediceo Laurenziana, architettura di Michelagnolo Buonarruoti,* Florence, 1739.[136]

From these sources the development of the framing of the outer door can be accurately described. In accordance with the contract of 1533 the component parts of the frame were for the most part worked, but never put into position, and remained lying in the Ricetto. The agreement of the Dosio drawing (Fig. 53) and Rossi's plate XXII (Fig. 54) with the scale drawing of the Casa Buonarroti (Fig. 51) indicates that Michelangelo wanted to have the door executed in accordance with the scale drawing. In 1687 nothing had yet happened. Shortly after that date, however, the architect Pier Maria Baldi was commissioned by Duke Cosimo III (1670-1723) to finish the door.[137] For some mysterious reason Baldi availed himself neither of the ready worked materials nor of the drawing in the possession of the Buonarroti family, but in the dullest way had the inside form of the door copied and crowned with a segmental gable (Fig. 52). After Baldi's completion, the worked parts of 1533 were

Ricetto entrance door, which must have been considered together with the door itself. The steps in place today alone go back to Michelangelo. Sheet Casa Buonarroti 95 served as basis for the contract of 1533. First engraved by G. I. Rossi, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI. Then published by Geymüller, *op. cit.*, p. 33, pl. 4, fig. 1, and Thode, III, no. 150, and correctly interpreted. Popp, *Medici-Kapelle*, pp. 45, 126, sees in this sheet an earlier stage of the tabernacles above the doors of the Medici Chapel. The connection of this drawing with the Ricetto entrance door is, however, evident.

134. The hitherto unpublished sheet (pen, 38.5 × 28.4 cm.) is contained in a portfolio of Dosio drawings after the Ricetto. The plan makes the identification of the sheet certain. Dosio has here reconstructed the door frame from worked fragments found in the Ricetto. This reconstruction agrees exactly with drawing Casa Buonarroti 95 (Fig. 51). Only the whole cornice between door and gable and the tablet for the inscription in the gable are missing. These parts were evidently not yet worked.

135. Nelli's sheet 20 reproduces drawing Casa Buonarroti 95. His text affirms that the worked parts of the door were lying in the Ricetto: "Porta cavata da alcuni pezzi di pietre, che sono in terra dentro il Ricetto, e da un disegno di Michelagnolo, che si trova appresso i Buonarruoti suoi Eredi, al quale si giudica esser quella, che fù da lui destinata per l'esterno di esso Ricetto, perchè, oltre al corrispondere coll'apertura della porta interna, conviene ancora colla Modanatura dell'esterno delle Finestre variata dalla Modanatura dell'altre porte conforme allo stile di Michelagnolo di non replicare gli stessi disegni, mostrando egli in ciò la ricchezza de'suoi concetti."

136. The plates for this work were drawn in 1727. Here the text on the history of the door runs as follows: "Questa porta, non ha gran tempo, fu messa sù per comandamento del Serenissimo Gran Duca Cosimo III, coll'assistenza di Pier Maria Baldi Architetto, e servitore in Corte di S. A. R. il quale non senza qualche grave ragione si sarà indotto a replicare una cosa già posta in opera, anzichè secondare il pensiero di Ma., perfezionandone un'altra da lui lasciata imperfetta; se pure vogliamo credere, che gli osservassela. E dal non essere stata fatta quella stima, che far si dovea giustamente d'alcune cose, le quali mancato il Buonarruoti abbozzate rimasero in alcuni preziosi frammenti di pietre, le quali si conservano nel Ricetto.... Nella Tav. XX quella Porta si mostra, la quale si vede posta in opera nello stato presente, nella XXI poi quel Disegno, che da noi si è citato; e finalmente nella XXII uno degli Stipiti, e l'Architrave..." On Rossi's three plates the three conditions are shown side by side: the door executed by Baldi, the design of the Casa Buonarroti, and the worked fragments of the door lying in the Ricetto. In this last plate the segmental gable reproduced by Dosio is not shown. Most likely in the course of time it had disappeared. The correct state of affairs was forgotten soon after the completion of the door. In: Ruggieri, *Studio d'Architettura Civile*, Florence, 1722-8, I, pl. 1, this door in elevation, section, and plan is shown as "Architettura di Michel Angelo B." Ruggieri's work is the standard book of engravings of Florentine architecture.

137. Baldi, the details of whose activity as an architect have not yet been investigated, worked in Florence at the end of the seventeenth century. See Thieme-Becker, II, p. 393.

found, according to Rossi, still in the Ricetto. Perhaps they shared the fate of Tribolo's steps and were taken with these from the Ricetto to Poggio Imperiale in 1811.[138]

Men so well versed in Michelangelo's manner as Nelli and Rossi justly condemn a copy which is in direct contradiction of the master's desire for differentiation, and is an insult to the inexhaustible wealth of "Michelangelo-Concetti." The form of the door as shown on the Casa Buonarroti drawing, stands in close relation to that of the windows of the façade (Figs. 2, 3). Here, as in the windows, the dominant motif is that applied hood which encloses the sides of the actual frame in a U-shape. This is a particularly impressive manner of separating the actual frame from the gable. In contrast to the rending of the connection between frame and gable by dynamic vertical strength in the door communicating with the library, and to the separation of frame and gable by a neutral zone on the library side of the same door, here the crushing weight of the gable is the decisive factor received and distributed by the isolating tong-like hood. In spite of this fundamental agreement between window and door designs, the door has not only new elements specifically expressing its particular nature (pilasters, steps, inscription tablet), but also elements betraying a more advanced stage of development of the ideas expressed in the window designs. Instead of the absolute separability of window frames, hood, and gable, in the door design the projection of the hood over the pilasters forms a conclusion to the vertical play which leads to a new kind of conflict opposite to the tendency of the windows towards division into horizontal layers. The windows were already executed in the spring of 1525, at least a year before the probable date of the door drawing.

As explained above, Michelangelo at one time used the U-shaped hood from the outside of the library windows for the doors of the Ricetto base: it is to be found in the final scheme of the first plan, which was completed between the spring and autumn of 1525 (Fig. 11). In later development the doors in the Ricetto were formed from a different standpoint (Figs. 14, 55). These doors were, on the one hand, organically fused with the moldings of the base, and set in relation to the tabernacles (identity of capitals); and, on the other hand, the idea of the cleavage of frames —effected on the door of the library and in the panels above the tabernacles in a similar sense—received a quite new form. In the door to the library the frame cleavage took place through the fusion of the inside frame above the lintel with a horizontal cornice. Here the frame cleavage is effected by the vertical pilasters at either side of the door. They have burst through the door frame and at the same time forced the outer molding outwards, so that one may speak here rather of a frame rupture than of a frame cleavage. These pilasters have, however, in the last analysis, the same function as the horizontal cornice over the lintel of the library door. Taking either away, there remains an organic, conflictless connection of the whole door frame. Frame rupture and frame cleavage give the inside doors of the Ricetto, in spite of the difference in their aspects, the impression of a fundamental relationship.

When P. M. Baldi simply used the inside door of the base (Fig. 55) on the outside (Fig. 52) he reversed the process of Michelangelo's development of the building. How senseless and thoughtless were Baldi's ideas becomes apparent in an analysis

138. See above, p. 171.

of the structure of the inside door in relation to the rest of the Ricetto. The present outer door, falsifying the idea of the interior one, from which it is copied by the addition of a segmental gable, stands quite without meaning in the front of the Ricetto.

III. The library owes its peculiar splendor to the wonderfully carved wooden ceiling (Figs. 18, 56). This has its own history, hitherto neglected. From the very beginning, before the plans were settled in detail, the pope demanded a special and novel ceiling. He did not want any of the usual coffering but "qualche fantasia nuova."[139] This wish, expressed on March 10, 1524, and repeated on the 3rd of April was immediately complied with, for on the 13th of April Fattucci announced that the drawing for the ceiling had pleased the pope.[140] Exactly a year later, at a time when the library building was already well advanced, the question of the ceiling arose again. As before, Clement demanded a very beautiful ceiling in low relief. If no new scheme was ready, the old one was to be again transmitted.[141] Then follows another interval of a year. On the 3rd of April, 1526, the pope again spoke his wishes.[142] In June, as soon as the lime wood was dry, the ceiling had been started.[143] From the middle of July expenditure was rigidly curtailed, and with the general interruption of work in the Ricetto in the autumn of 1526 all thought of the construction of the ceiling ceased, before the work had well begun.[144] Not until August 23, 1533, came the news from Sebastiano del Piombo in Rome that the pope now wished the ceiling and the desks to be put in order.[145] So 1533 can be fixed as the date *post quem:* but the ceiling itself bears evidence compelling an even later dating.

Each of its big central panels contains four ibex skulls joined to one another by garlands. Outside the inner oval, filling the angles of a rectangle, are pairs of decoratively conceived dolphins. The ibex heads and dolphins are the dominant elements of the ceiling decoration: they have, naturally, not a purely decorative but also an emblematical significance: ibex and dolphin are the emblems of Duke Cosimo I. Since Cosimo came to the throne only in 1537, this must be accepted as the date *post quem* for the construction of the ceiling.[146]

139. Letter from Fattucci to Michelangelo of March 10, 1524 (Gotti, *op. cit.*, I, p. 165): "A caro il palco, e vorrebbelo bello e non riquadrato, ma con qualche fantasia nuova, e che e' non vi fussi di sfondato più che dua o tre dita come voi saprete fare."

140. Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 224: "Ancora vide il disegnio del palcho, il quale gli piacque. Pargli, che quegli andari si riscontrano con que di sotto, che l'a carissimo; solo gli pare, che quello andare dal lato venga a essere più largo che quello di sotto, che è tre quarti, secondo che v'è scritto. Et se per aventura non fussi in questo modo, come N. S. la 'ntende, fate, a ogni modo sia cosi come la 'ntende lui; et se voi vi potessi acomodare qualche sua fantasia overo livrea, come a fatto in quella camera che fe M.o Giovanni da Udine, credo, l'arebbe caro."

141. Fattucci to Michelangelo of April 12, 1525 (Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 250): "Ancora vole, faciate uno bellissimo palco alla libreria, come gia vi scrissi altra volta, con poco isfondato. Et mandatemi il disegnio, facesti l'autra volta; et se n'avete fatto nessuno altro o avessi altra fantasia mandategli, perche N. S. gli vole vedere."

142. Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 279. The relevant passage has been exhaustively analyzed above, pp. 145-146.

143. On the draft of Michelangelo's letter to Fattucci of June 17 see above. The passage referring to the ceiling misinterpreted by Thode, II, p. 117.

144. Fattucci to Michelangelo of October 16, 1526 (Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 289): "Del palco della libreria per ora nonne vole fare niente."

145. Letter to Michelangelo (Gotti, *op. cit.*, I, p. 225): "....et dice (Sua Santità) che alogate li banchi e palchi e figure e scale e quello pare a vui, che possino fare senza vui questa invernata, purchè si lavori, e che non si abandoni l'opera, e che si faci tutto quello si pol fare senza vui...." Concerning the stair and the doors Michelangelo had already three days previously, on August 20, 1533, concluded the contract which we have analyzed.

146. This idea first developed by Franceschini in *Nuovo osservatore fiorentino*, 1885/6, p. 412, without hitherto receiving any attention. See f. i. P. Frankl, *Die Entwicklungsphasen der neuren Baukunst*, 1914, p. 115. About the *imprese* of Cosimo see Gio. Ferro, *Teatro d'Imprese*, II, p. 176: "Capricorno: Questo

From the beginning a decoration of symbolical significance had been desired ("qualche sua fantasia overo Livrea"[146a]). This idea remained alive, and it is not to be wondered at that after the death of Clement VII and the accession in Florence of Cosimo I, the emblems of the latter should replace those of the pope. Apart from the possibility of attributing the ceiling to the years following 1537, the question now arises as to how far the design does belong to Michelangelo, who after his removal to Rome in 1534 never more trod Florentine soil. Vasari[147] maintains that the wood carving of the ceiling was executed by the Florentine carvers Carota and Tasso from Michelangelo's designs. Two such designs (Fig. 57) from his hand have, in fact, been preserved in the Casa Buonarroti.[148] They show preliminary stages of the final conception, and provide conclusive evidence that the form of the present ceiling was to a very great extent fixed by Michelangelo. The design, however, not only differs in certain details from the actual ceiling—so that for the dolphins in the corners are substituted rectangular framed panels, resuming the niche theme above the windows—but, further, it gives the whole ceiling completely other proportions. It has not hitherto been realized that the two designs are composed within a previously outlined frame, so that the one side and middle panel here represented with the border lying between vouchsafe a view over the whole ceiling scheme.[149] The two drawings are not, thus, placed haphazard side by side on the paper, but form a unit. In this scheme the middle panel instead of being an oblique figure as in the actual ceiling, is an oblong, approaching a square, the borders are broader, and the side panels contain three instead of the later two similar decorative figures. It is hardly possible to bring this arrangement into harmony with that of the side walls. Assuming—and according to the whole correspondence one must assume—that the breadth of side and middle compartments agrees with the triple articulation of the short wall,[150] the depth of each panel is about half as big again as each division of the long wall. According to the arrangement of the drawing the ceiling would, thus, only at the short ends be connected with the architecture. It is a decisive moment for further development when the ceiling is brought into harmony also with the division of the long wall. The actual ceiling forms a complete unity with the architecture—a unity hitherto scarcely ever effected. Instead of an isolated, coffered ceiling burdening the room, a latent Gothic feeling here breaks through the antique forms into a building conceived as an architectural unity. The sketch with its strongly emphasized borders, its almost square middle panels, and their dissociation from the long walls stands in the world of ideas considerably nearer to the coffered ceiling.[151]

segno ascendente del Duca Cosimo, pose il Giovio per l'istesso Duca e gli diede motto: Fidem fati virtute sequemur." P. 272: "Delfino: Motto: Festina lente (Euripides)."

146a. See above, note 139.

147. Ed. Milanesi, VII, p. 203; III, p. 351.

148. Casa Buonarroti 126. Red chalk, partly outlined in pencil.

149. Thode, II, p. 135, believed incorrectly: sketches for a central division and two neighboring side divisions showing the arrangement of the whole as it was executed. Frey 266 is misleading as side and middle divisions are shown separately and on different scales. Frey wrongly concludes in his text that according to this drawing the side divisions were to run on without interruption.

150. The relation of the side divisions of the drawing to the middle, corresponds almost exactly to the relation of the side divisions to the middle division of the short walls of the library.

151. Schottmüller in *Jahrbuch d. Kunsthist. Sammlungen (Wien)* II, 1928, pp. 226ff., makes important

FIG. 56—*Ceiling of the Library, Central Panel*

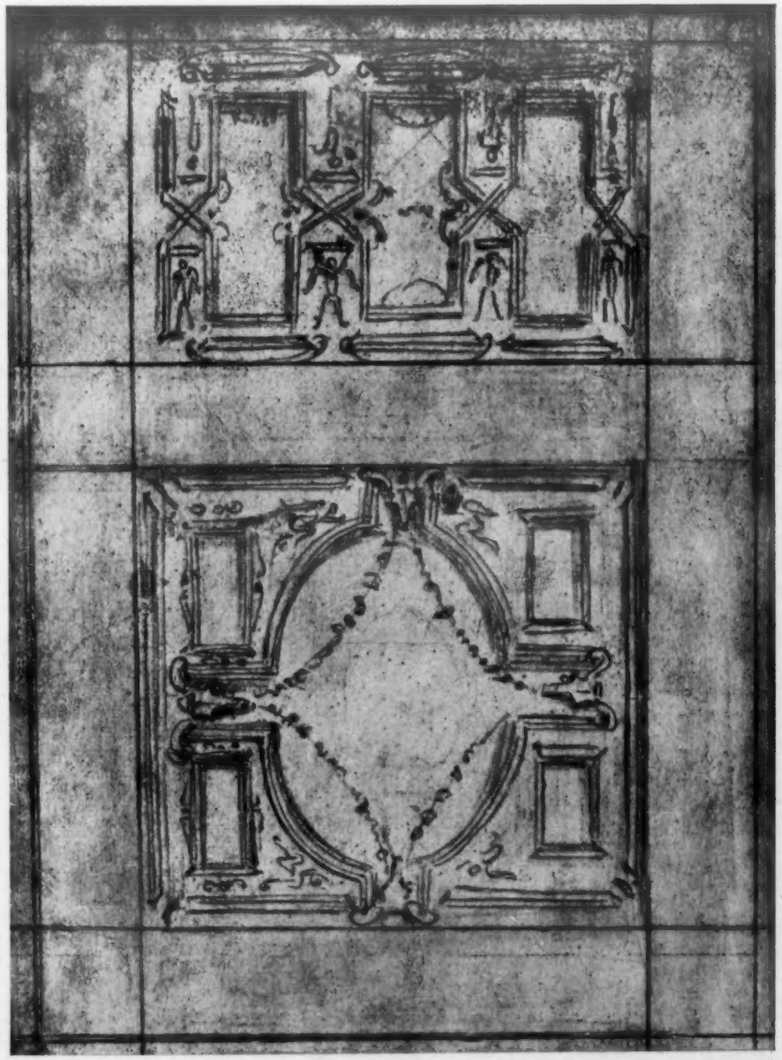

FIG. 57—*Sketch for the Ceiling* (*Casa Buonarroti 126—Frey 266*)

FIG. 58—*Northwest Angle of the Ricetto, before the Modern Completion*

FIG. 59—*Cappella Gondi, by Giuliano da Sangallo, in S. Maria Novella, Florence*

It remains to determine how long after 1537 the ceiling was constructed. We know that as regards the staircase after the interval beginning in 1534 work was not resumed until 1549-50; we also know that the floor of the library was not laid until 1547-54. So that the end of the forties certainly saw a resumption of activity. Most likely the construction of the ceiling took place during this period.[152] It must have been shortly before the laying of the floor, not only for practical reasons, but primarily because the unglazed terracotta mosaic of the floor (Fig. 35) almost exactly repeats the design of the middle panels of the ceiling. To the same period—about 1550—we may attribute the desks, made by the otherwise little known Battista del Cinque and Ciapino.[153]

IV. The desks (Fig. 18) also have a long story. As early as September 2, 1524,[154] the pope was asking how many desks the library would hold, and how many books each desk. As example of the distance of one desk from another the arrangement of the desks of the library of S. Marco was to be taken. In the spring of 1526,[155] when the execution of the ceiling also came into prominence, the pope demanded that walnut wood should be procured for the desks. On June 6 of this year[156] the wood lay ready drying—but lime and pine, not the walnut on which the pope insisted. Again on July 17, 1533,[157] after the seven-year interval, Sebastiano del Piombo conveyed the wish of Clement VII that selected walnut should be used, and on the 23rd of August, through Sebastiano, came the order to put the execution of the desks in hand.[158] The contract was perhaps concluded, but work can hardly have begun before the end of 1534.

It has been suggested above that the close connection of the desks with the architecture of the library is amongst the happiest ideas of the whole building. Of the development of the idea, complete already in the beginning of 1524, no drawings are forthcoming. On the other hand, an original design for the side view of a desk does exist, showing the general scheme of the present desks.[159] In execution only unimportant changes were made. Schottmüller[160] has justly pointed out that the carving on the fronts of the book rests is poor in idea and of not too high quality. For the ceiling not only did Michelangelo leave very detailed drawings, but the work was entrusted to the very best craftsmen.[161]

observations on the library ceiling, without, however, arriving at the real idea of the ceiling plan as it was actually carried out.

152. Between 1534 and about 1549 no work was done in the Ricetto or the library. Then, however, it began simultaneously on all parts of the building. The proposal of dating the ceiling so late was made only by Franceschini in *Nuovo osservatore fiorentino*, 1885/6, p. 412, and then without being remarked.

153. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, VII, p. 203.

154. Fattucci to Michelangelo (Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 234): "....quanti banchi vi va, colla distantia l'uno dallo altro, come quelli di S.o Marco apunto. Et ancora m'avisate, quanti libri andra per banco."

155. Fattucci to Michelangelo of April 3, 1526 (Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 279): "....et dice che troviate o faciate trovare asse d'albero e di noce per e banchi."

156. Fattucci to Michelangelo (Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 284).

157. Gotti, *op. cit.*, I, p. 171. "Nostro Signore vuole che siano tutti di noce scielto [in Milanesi and Gotti: "sculto." Corrected from the original in the Archivio Buonarroti by Frey, *Handzeichnungen*, text p. 126]; non si cura di spendere 3 fiorini più, che non li importano, pure che siano alla cosimesca, ciò è si assimigliano le opere del magnifico Cosimo."

158. Gotti, *op. cit.*, I, p. 225.

159. Casa Buonarroti 94; Frey, 269. See also Tolnai in *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1928, p. 462, no. 13.

160. In *Jahrbuch d. Kunsthist. Sammlungen*, II, p. 228.

161. Working on the ceiling with Carota and the famous Battista del Tasso (1500/55) was—as Baldinucci, *Notizie de' Professori*, Milan, 1811, VII, p. 605, testifies—also the latter's son-in-law Antonio Crocini († 1577/8). Thode, II, p. 118, incorrectly thinks a share was also taken by Crocini's son-in-law, the painter Francesco Pagani (about 1531-1561). Misunderstanding of the Baldinucci text.

V. The space allotted to the floor is bounded by the base lines of the desks. The date of the pavement has been definitely fixed by the investigations made by Marquand[162] for the period between 1547 and 1554. The work was mainly in the hands of Santi di Buglione who, according to Vasari,[163] in constructing the pavement carried out the design of Tribolo, making a reflection of the ceiling. In the floor mosaic (Fig. 35), however, the design of the ceiling is somewhat enriched. In the middle, inclosed by laurel garlands, are the intertwined Medici rings, ribbons dangle from the ibex heads, and other of Cosimo's emblems are arranged in the borders.[164]

VI. To the completion of the inside of the library belong the windows with lightly distributed glass painting (Fig. 18) in delicate, pale colors, representing various emblems of Cosimo I and Clement VIII, and bearing the date 1568. Giovanni da Udine has been held resposible for the design of the glass; but surely the decoration—though near in type to his work—is too poor to be the master's own.[165]

Since all the component parts of the library were completed on the initiative of Cosimo I in complete accordance with the intentions of the always absent master, the duke could justifiably hand down to posterity the record of his work in an inscription over the entrance door—and this he did in a scroll typical of the "modern" taste of 1570, the sole element in the room to disturb the absolute dominion of Michelangelo's ideas of form:

BIBLIOTHECAM HANC
COS: MED: TUSCORUM
MAGNUS DUX I
PERFICIENDAM CURAVIT
AN: DNI MDLXXI III ID: IUN.

Modern Additions and Alterations

In 1571 a solemn act proclaimed the library open for the use of the public. On the same day a medal was struck with the image of Duke Cosimo I on one side and on the reverse a door, the entrance door to the library, and the motto: PUBBLICAE UTILITATI.

I. It has already been said by way of introduction that until the end of last century not only the Ricetto façade remained in the rough, but also that inside of the second story only the south side, against the library, was completed (Figs. 13, 58). At the time of the opening the Ricetto was, moreover, filled with a mass of hewn stones, which were only removed at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The idea of completing the unfinished parts of the Ricetto belongs to Duke Ferdinand III at the turn of the nineteenth century. When the scaffolding was already erected and the necessary stone assembled, the enterprise had to be abandoned owing

162. A. Marquand, *Benedetto and Santi Buglioni*, 1921, pp. 196 and 201ff.

163. Ed. Milanesi, VI, p. 88, note 1, and p. 92.

164. It does not seem right, hence, to conclude that on the severer and more economical ceiling painting was planned, as Schottmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 226ff., thinks.

165. Window glass recently restored by De Matteis. See Franceschini, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

FIG. 60—*Model for the Modern Cornice of the Ricetto*

FIG. 61—*Façade, by Maderna, of S. Susanna, Rome*

FIG. 62—*Door, by Dosio, in the Northeast Angle of the First Story of the Cloister*

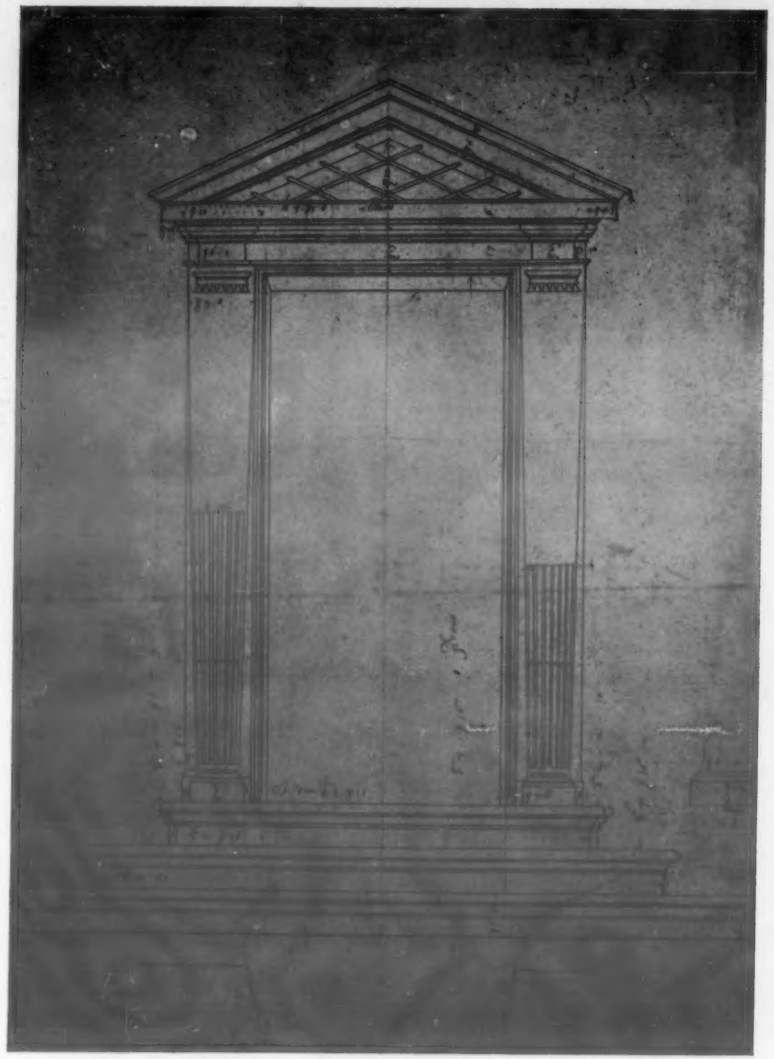

FIG. 63—*Sketch by Dosio for the Door Shown in Fig. 62 (Uffizi dis. arch. 1946)*

to unfavorable times.[166] Nearly a hundred years passed before the completion of the interior was achieved with the not altogether happy façade already analyzed in detail.

Two points in the work of 1904 are still noteworthy. The south inside wall of the Ricetto finished by Michelangelo had remained without a cornice. Rossi[167] explained in his text that Michelangelo had left no design for the crowning cornice, but supposed that it was to have been similar to that of the library. Geymüller[168] completed the missing cornice "from fragments preserved in the vestibule, which had not been removed." He seems here to have made a mistake. The cornice is a very successful modern affair. It is a free combination of the library cornice and that above the first story of the Ricetto. It contains the integral parts of Michelangelo's cornice: the effective chamfered molding and the double spouts—the two elements connected by a small molding. The new cornice was tried out in wood and working photographs were taken of the experiment by the Sopraintendenza (Fig. 60); these photographs we are now able to publish. The cornice was then constructed in accordance with this model. The ceiling still remained unfinished. For this none of Michelangelo's directions were forthcoming. They were lacking already at the time of building. Ammanati hoped in 1559 to obtain drawings from Michelangelo for the ceiling of the Ricetto as well as for the façade.[169] Whether he succeeded or not is unknown. Today, instead of a solid ceiling, there is a canvas stretched across, with a painted repetition of the library ceiling. The impression of the extraordinarily energetic design of the Ricetto is sensibly injured by so flimsy a covering.

II. Apart from this completion of the existing construction, the nineteenth century saw additional building in direct antithesis to Michelangelo's intentions. Already at an early date there was apparently an idea of enlarging Michelangelo's library. In the northeast corner of the cloister, about opposite the entrance of the Ricetto, there is a *macigno* door frame at the head of three steps, the connection of which with the architecture of the Ricetto is at once evident. This door (Fig. 62) has hitherto received no attention in literature on Michelangelo. Only by Ruggieri[170] was it illustrated, and published with the inscription "Architettura di Michelangelo Buonarroti."

To anyone familiar with the manner of Michelangelo it is at once obvious that this door does not express his ideas. Copyists have taken the tabernacle design of the interior of the Ricetto and used it with some simplifications; the clear-cut moldings are translated into a soft, and rounded style. All this suggests a master from among Michelangelo's followers.

166. L. Biadi, *Notizie sulle antiche fabriche di Firenze non terminate*, Florence, 1824, pp. 134-6.

167. G. I. Rossi, *Libr. Laurenziana*, p. VII: "Tralle cose, le quali Michelagniolo in questo Edifizio non solamente lasciò imperfetto, ma incognite ancora, e prive d'ogni memoria, una senza fallo, si è il Cornicione, il quale doveva servire di finimento, e quasi di corona a tutta la stanza." See also p. XXIII.

168. *Op. cit.*, p. 26. Geymüller refers to Ruggieri, *Studio d'architettura civile*, IV, p. 31, where, however, notice is taken of the worked part of the outer door. Refutation must here be made of Thode's opinion (II, p. 127) that on sheet 62 of the Casa Buonarroti (published by Tolnai in *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1928, fig. 82) of five sketches for the library cornice two relate to the modern Ricetto cornice, which he takes to be old.

169. Ammanati to Cosimo I from Florence of February 18, 1559 (Gaye, *Carteggio*, III, pp. 11 f.): "... se V. E. I. vorrà che per ordine suo io dimandi, quando le parrerà tempo, a lui [Michelangelo] del palco [after this word in Gaye's text is a comma, which must be a mistake] del ricetto e del modello della facciata, lo farò." Hereupon Cosimo answers February 22 (Gaye, *op. cit.*, III, p. 13): "Circa il palco del ricetto e del modello della facciata, che non saria fuor di proposito di cavare dal Bon. quel che si può."

170. *Studio d'architettura civile*, IV, pl. 14.

A drawing in the Uffizi (Fig. 63),[171] from the style and the signature attributable with certainty to Dosio, shows this door. But here we have not—as in the case of the large group of Dosio drawings of the Ricetto—a simple representation of what is there, but rather an alternative project. The fluting of the pilasters on the left runs, as in the tabernacles of the Ricetto, more than half up the pilaster, that on the right considerably less. The conclusion seems obvious that the door was planned and executed by Dosio. It would be logical, then, to attribute to Dosio not only the design of the door, but also the whole scheme of which it forms a part. The door is the entrance to a staircase hall with broad, cleanly worked *macigno* stairs. The hall was not completed all at once, however; the work clearly was soon abandoned. It has been asked in vain what conceivable purpose this comparatively pompous hall can have been intended to serve. Our bird's-eye view of the whole complex of buildings (Fig. 1) provides the answer. Above the northeast corner of the cloister roof is an erection which can only be the beginning of a complete story to run the length of the east side of the cloister. Clearly, in the second half of the sixteenth century Dosio was to erect on this side a parallel to the library on the other.

An enlargement of the library became indispensable when Count Angioli d'Elci, in 1792, presented his collection of 8000 volumes to Ferdinand III. Thirty years later the architect Pasquale Poccianti was entrusted with the task of building the rotonda today standing in the west long wall of the library (cf. Fig. 1). This represents but the smallest part of Poccianti's whole project. It is the minimum space necessary for the reception of the d'Elci collection. Poccianti's big scheme provided for a parallel erection on the lines of Dosio's plan, and, in the axis of the rotonda, a connecting line of building terminating in a similar round building at its east end.[172]

Excellent as is Poccianti's building as a plan in itself, it has no relation whatever to the original scheme. The line of columns inside the long wall of the library brooks absolutely no interruption. Today not only is an intolerable cross-line introduced, but the blocking of five windows breaks the originally uniform lightness of the room—a prime necessity of the whole composition. Finally, the break in the desk arrangement sensibly disturbs the happy ground plan—already analyzed in detail (Fig. 18).

After 1880 Poccianti's old ideas of enlargement were taken up again. All idea of an east building parallel to the library was, however, in time abandoned. Instead of this arose the block above the south side of the second cloister, to be entered through the door lying opposite that to the Ricetto—the door which should have led into Michelangelo's "piccola libreria." Though these new rooms—whose junction with the library ruthlessly cuts off its old southeast corner—have no effect on the interior, they form but a shabby and unorganic conglomeration, a rude shock to anyone whose

171. Uff. dis. arch. 1946. Pen, 36.6 × 25.6 cm. Hitherto unpublished.

172. See L. Biadi, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-6. Fullest report by Franceschini in *Nuovo osservatore fiorentino*, 1885/6, pp. 421ff., and in *Per l'arte fiorentina: Dialoghi critici*, Florence, 1895, pp. 225ff. Here also the material for the modern extension. To the significance of Poccianti's building in the effect of the library, no reference is otherwise made in Michelangelo literature. Poccianti's building serves today as reading room—contrary to its original destination—and was after 1880 fitted with windows and desks for this purpose. The effect of its architecture is thus to some extent spoiled.

expectations have been aroused by the library. These modern rooms bear to Michelangelo's building a relation exactly the reverse of Poccianti's rotonda: bad in themselves, they do not disturb the effect of the library.

The Ricetto and the Problem of Mannerist Architecture

I. Our investigations have shown that the change of plan, necessitated by purely external reasons, which led to the present arrangement of the Ricetto and the stair is of decisive importance. The external necessity for change is, however, merely the occasion for an intensification of ideas already contemplated by Michelangelo in the first stage of the plan. Witness of this will be provided by an analysis of the architect's treatment of space in the Ricetto.

The approximately square ground of the room is almost completely filled by the stair. Only a narrow passage is left close against the walls. The mass of the stairs dominates the room on the level of the base. Within this lower level the shell of the room itself is there merely to enclose the stair. The walls cloak the stair, the big sculptural form of which is, as it were, enshrined in a box. A room is usually adapted for the use of men. Here one enters a room which is for the stair alone. This idea (of a stair kept in a box) excludes the possibility of an organic union of wall and stair. The stair is, in the truest sense of the words, placed against the wall: all the moldings of the base run without interruption behind the staircase; between the parapet of the staircase and the frame of the door the gap is wide enough to admit a man's hand. In a vestibule where room and man were of the first importance the stair would be organically connected with the wall. Turning attention to the two stories rising above the base, these bear no indication of the particular function of the room as a hall to contain a stair. The height of 11.50 m. above the stair exists without any possibility of guessing its dependence upon its sculptural kernel—the stair.

In other words, looking at the lower level, the base, the walls appear to fulfil their function in enclosing the stair. Looking up above the base level, however, the room seems to stand on its own conditions. Below, the sculptural form of the stair primarily conditions the room; above, the room stands as such.[173] Of this discrepancy the building provides no reconciliation. Since, as has been shown, the articulation of the Ricetto wall from floor to ceiling is a unity, the two different characters of the room cannot be treated separately. So for the spectator there arises an incessant conflict between the two principles: the walls as shell of a sculptural kernel, and the walls as boundaries of a room. A solution is impossible. And, indeed, the significance of this architecture lies in the fact that no solution can be found. One is thus at constant variance, plunged into the middle of an insoluble conflict.

On the horizontal system of wall articulation of the first plan (Fig. 11) it was, on the other hand, possible to conceive of each level of the room as a separate entity. The two opposite conceptions of the function of the room are already there, but the cumulation of the stories one above the other prevents them as yet from coming to an open conflict.

173. On this point compare Geymüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 26f.: "Der Treppe gegenüber stehen die Wände öde und leer und wie über die eigne Form verlegen da."

All the vestibule stairs of previous Italian Renaissance buildings form an absolute unity with the walls encompassing them. The notch-boards of the stairs are always identical with the walls, dividing the stair hall from the outside world. These stairs present from the nature of their design no kind of problem. The Laurenziana Ricetto with its stair—arising from the necessity of fulfilling a very particular set of conditions—opens a new world. It is the first real staircase hall of Western architecture, and herewith the ancestor of all Baroque staircase halls. Though it is thus exactly placed in the line of genetic development, nothing has yet been said about the meaning of the architecture itself. Michelangelo created, indeed, a type which was taken over by Baroque and decisive in many respects of the development of Baroque—but is the Ricetto therefore a Baroque work?

It is evident from the preceding investigation that the insoluble conflict, the restless fluctuation between opposite extremes, is the governing principle of the whole building. What holds for the form of the whole room, holds also for the individual parts of the architecture. It has always, and particularly by Riegl,[174] been pointed out that the projection of sections of the wall disturbs the proper function of columns and pilasters. The task proper to the orders is to bear burdens and to articulate wall surfaces. The orders thus generally stand in relief before the wall; but here the wall stands before the orders. A correct feeling for the reversal which has here taken place has led to the description of the walls as expanding into the room. The oppressive sensation of an overwhelming mass plays the main part in this interpretation.[175] Essential, however, for a real understanding of this architecture is the fact that the usual form of wall and covering orders is simply reversed. The observer is plunged, unconsciously, into a remarkable situation of doubt and obscurity. He perceives, on the one hand, that walls and orders have exchanged function, reacts immediately, however, to the instinctive consideration that this is impossible. The whole arrangement of the wall articulation thus contains a conflict to the solution of which the architecture provides no clue. Recalling for a moment the articulation of the first plan (Fig. 11), it is apparent that the conflict is there still avoided. The tabernacles are encompassed by pilasters so that the recesses containing columns appear as breaking into an advancing wall plane.

Analysis of the stair leads to no other result. In the central flight the sense of the whole stair is reversed. The steps fall in a cascade from the libray door;[176] the two side flights climb upwards. In the meeting of the three flights the two tendencies clash. Following a side flight upwards, at the place where it unites with the center one has the sense of being thrown down again. Following the central flight downwards, the movement is contradicted by the upward movement of the sides. There is no solution: one is forever torn between the upward and the downward tendencies. This unstable conception of the stair problem also appeared only after the change of

174. A. Riegl, *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom*, Vienna, 1908, p. 44. Also Geymüller, *op. cit.*, p. 26: "Mauerpfeiler treten vor, nicht wie üblich die Säulen."

175. The problem of masses is only one of quantity. A decision as to whether a work is still Renaissance or already Baroque can from this point of view never be convincing, for the arguments must be taken from the personal reactions of individuals.

176. Here also see Tolnai in *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1928, p. 408.

plan. If the way for it was prepared in the final stage of the first plan, yet this showed no contradiction in the form of middle and side flights.

After this survey it is easy to follow out the same theme of insoluble conflict in every detail. The rupture and cleavage of the door frames, the dominant elements of the doors, into which we have already entered, allow of no other interpretation. We eventually realize that each member has been given two different and irreconcilable meanings. In the articulation of the whole the cumulative piling up of horizontal layers is relieved by a uniform vertical articulation to the intensification of the conflict: a similar development can be traced between the early windows of the library and the later doors.

A word remains to be said concerning the tabernacles (Fig. 15). The function of each architectural member is here reversed. Pilasters narrowing towards the base with triangular or segmental gables enclose the wall niches. It is the essence of the design that the capitals of the pilasters have nothing to do with the pilasters; they are much too small and lie in a deeper plane. A capital normally stands at the conflicting point between soaring strength and pressing weight: the burden, as it were, presses the strong pillar out in breadth. Here, however, the capitals hang on the entablature of the gable, which they should properly bear. Since capitals are there, one inclines *a priori* to attribute to them their usual function. Then one is convinced by the facts that only the form is there without its real content. And so on: triglyphs, members of the Doric entablature, hang like dewdrops below the pilasters. Part of the actual niche is encompassed by a narrow molding. This molding is taken across the surface of the niche just below its upper border. As the edge of the niche runs right round below the molding, one has the idea of a smaller box being placed within a larger. One feels it possible to lift the framed box out of the niche, leaving the plain niche behind. But actually the surface of the niche right at the top lies in the same plane as the surface surrounded by the molding. So that the impression one receives from looking at the edge, of there being two boxes one within the other, in false. Thus, repeatedly, one idea is neutralized by another. One cannot altogether abandon the idea of there being one box within another, but must needs revise the impression on a closer inspection of the back of the niche.[177]

The change of plan of the turn of the year 1525/6 led to the transformation of the accent on horizontal stories into the uniform vertical articulation of all the stories. In that the door now cuts into the cornice of the base, indifference to the integrity of that story is made clear and the major importance of the unity of all the stories is emphasized. The new kind of vertical union is not, however, an end in itself, but first opens the way to the possibility of acute conflict within the architecture. The tension created by this architecture in the whole and in detail alike, is not and should not be relieved. No sooner has the observer succumbed to *one* impression than another flatly contradictory of the first takes its place.[178]

177. The opinion of Popp in *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1927, p. 401 (and also earlier writers), that these tabernacles were to contain statues is not supported.

178. Conflict was first recognized as an integral part of Michelangelo's architecture by Woelfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, ed. 1926, p. 50 ("Komposition nach Kontrasten"), considered in detail by Geymüller, pp. 49ff. ("Der Pleonasmus als Prinzip und Quelle von Gegensätzen." "Die Vermehrung künstlerischer Gegensätze"), given a wider interpretation by Riegl, *Entstehung der Barockkunst*, pp. 39, 97, 148f., etc.

If desirous of establishing further the position of the Biblioteca Laurenziana in the history of architecture one must now take more account of Michelangelo himself. The question is whether the conflict brought into play by the double meaning of all the architectural parts, which we have remarked as the decisive characteristic of the Ricetto, whether this conflict is a quite individual expression of Michelangelo's genius, peculiar to himself, or whether he is here the representative of a style which can be authenticated from other sources. Can such conflict-containing architecture, in fact, be put in a class separate from architecture without such conflict?[179]

II. The nature of this conflict-containing architecture[180] must be further elucidated in a few simple examples. First we may take Giuliano da Sangallo's Cappella Gondi (Fig. 59) in S. Maria Novella (Florence, 1506). Within a design based on the triumphal arch each pilaster carries its own projecting entablature. The inner pilasters are clearly shown to belong with the outer as boundaries to the outer divisions by continuous moldings running round at the levels of base, capital, and architrave. The inner pilasters are thus for the time being an inseparable part of the outer divisions. But not less clear is the evidence for seeing the inner pilasters as frame of the central division. They are brought together by a triangular gable into a self-contained aedicula. This intention is made clearer in that the corona with its egg molding runs unbroken round the isolated projecting central cornice. A double function thus devolves upon the inner pilasters. Optically this double functional sense has the effect of confusing the divisions, as one remains undecided to which of them the inner pilasters belong. Every attempt to follow out the clues provided by the architecture in one sense immediately makes the opposite sense good. Michelangelo's Laurenziana architecture is, in its own way, completely identical with this. The same tension is created in the chapel as in the Laurenziana, the observer is left a prey to the same doubts.

This kind of architecture gives the eye a very special stimulus to movement. The movement is of such a kind that the eye wanders ceaselessly here, there, and everywhere.[181] To identify this impression of movement in its particular character let us term it *unstable*. It is necessary to take account of the fact that the impression of unstable movement evoked in the case of the Cappella Gondi by the double function of the component orders is fundamentally distinct from any conception of the Renaissance or of the Baroque.

Let us look next at the arrangement of the orders on the façade of the Palazzo Rucellai.[182] Every division of a story is in border, height, and breadth of equal value. The complete identity of all the divisions is decisive. If, with the exception of those on the corners, one can relate each pilaster to the preceding interval as to that which

179. Although conflicts were seen in Michelangelo's architecture he was generally placed at the beginning of the group of Baroque architects.

180. Parts of this chapter first published in manuscript in *Festschrift für Walter Friedländer*, 1933.

181. Woelfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, p. 50, discovered that within the Ricetto "unaufhörliche Bewegung entsteht." Woelfflin did not see that this movement is essentially different from that of the Baroque.

182. Comparison is for our purpose possible between the articulation of a chapel wall, that of a palace façade, and later on that of a church façade. It would not be difficult to confront like with like. The Cappella Gondi has been chosen as it offers the earliest example known to us of double function. The examples from Renaissance and Baroque were chosen in consideration of their impressiveness.

follows, it is a matter of indifference, inherent in the building, to which division one for the time being attaches a pilaster. The mechanical alternation of such accents is essentially unmoving, self-sufficient. In the Palazzo Rucellai with its possibility of relating any pilaster to any interval, one can find no unstable motion; in the case of the Cappella Gondi, on the other hand, the arrangement of the orders must needs be considered in detail.

As a typical Baroque plan let us take the façade of S. Susanna (Fig. 61) in Rome (1597-1603). It is perhaps the finest example of a façade composed of walls in different planes and with orders emphasizing their movement. Each plane of the wall composes a division. Wall planes and divisions are thus in complete correspondence with one another. Each division is given a clear and individual frame. At the point where the transition to the next wall plane brings one division into contact with another, two articulating orders stand side by side. In place of the mechanical alternation of the Palazzo Rucellai the façade of S. Susanna is based on a dynamic, vital centralization: the panels become, step-like, broader towards the middle; the transition from pilasters to columns, the increasing breaking-up of the intervening walls, all this brings about backward and forward movement, an accumulation of energies towards the middle, relaxation towards the outside. The clear interpretation of this unequivocally directed movement is guaranteed by the clarity of the borders to the divisions. In consequence of the wall planes indifference to the borders of the divisions as in the Palazzo Rucellai is no longer possible: the boundaries of each division must be exactly distinguished. In both cases—the Palazzo Rucellai and the façade of S. Susanna—interval and order are, however, clearly distinguished: in the one case by the complete identity of endlessly repeated units, and in the other by the absolute differentiation of enclosed, isolated units. In the reposeful system of the Palazzo Rucellai, by the nature of things there are no clues to the relationship of the orders; in the lively system of varying planes of S. Susanna these clues are provided with every clarity.

Thus is the special character of the unstable movement of the Cappella Gondi based on double function, clearly distinguished from the static of the Renaissance as from the directed movement of the Baroque. The law of double function, here exemplified in a quite simple form, is one of the fundamental laws of Mannerist building. On the double function of its architectural members depends, for the most part, the effect of the Laurenziana architecture. The double function can be connected with the orders in the most various and complicated manners, as in the Cappella Gondi: the ceiling of the loggia in Pius IV's Casino in the Vatican Garden may here be cited (Fig. 64)—executed in 1561 on the designs of Pirro Ligorio.[183] But quite apart from the orders, all kinds of architectural members can have a twofold function. As regards framework the Ricetto is the chief example. An extreme example of the possibilities into which this idea can develop is the wall articulation of the Sala Regia in the Vatican (Fig. 65), which goes back in design to Michelangelo's pupil Daniele da Volterra (after 1547).[184] In all these cases by the double function of indi-

183. W. Friedländer, *Das Casino Pius IV*, 1912, p. 127.

184. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, VII, p. 57.

vidual members isolated units are confused, to make an impression of unstable movement on the eyes and the imagination.

As starting point for the elucidation of a further law of Mannerist architecture let us take the façade of S. Giorgio de'Greci in Venice (Fig. 66), built after 1536 on the design of Sante Lombardi. The bottom story is divided on the triumphal arch plan; that is to say, the outer pilasters have their own individual projections, while over the two middle ones there is a continuous projecting cornice. In the second story the two inner pilasters are joined to the outer divisions in an aedicula, and the middle appears as an unframed section of wall. The third story, consisting only of the central section, joins the pilasters again over the top. Pilasters standing one above the other are thus united in conflicting directions: so that above closed divisions (that is, divisions clearly bounded by orders) are open divisions (that is, divisions bounded only by the orders of other divisions), and vice versa. It is impossible here to see similar divisions standing vertically one above the other. The clear vertical strata of similar divisions is destroyed by the alternation in the meaning of the orders in the vertical sense. This may be called the principle of inversion.

The inversion of the orders in stories one above the other hinders an unrestricted up-and-down view of the façade; the eye makes a jumpy passage here, there, and everywhere. The movement thus achieved can again be called unstable. As the double function brings about unstable movement in a single-storied building, so inversion achieves it in buildings of more than one story. Often both principles appear in a building of several stories. Then the double function forms the horizontal principle encompassing the whole breadth of the building story for story; inversion forms the vertical principle which is effective in the whole height of the building.

The two examples taken from Renaissance and Baroque bear further witness that the principle of inversion is foreign to both epoques. As well in the Palazzo Rucellai as in the façade of S. Susanna orders standing one above the other are of equal value, so that vertically similar divisions can be clearly seen standing one above the other.

It is distinctive of both the Mannerist examples here analyzed—the Cappella Gondi and S. Giorgio de'Greci—that the unbroken wall surface forms the background for the relief of the double functional or inverted orders. In both cases the unstable movement expressed in the orders is quite independent of the walls. Remove the orders from their background and a complete, unarticulated wall remains. Now the wall itself can be made to express unstable movement. As example of this the façade of the Biblioteca Laurenziana (Fig. 2) can serve; we have not hitherto analyzed it at all. Its row of windows lies in a plane slightly deeper than that of the unbroken wall surface above. Below, one takes the plane of the windows to be the bounding wall. The piers appear here simply as a range of articulating members which could be removed from the wall like a net. But these same piers actually form a homogeneous whole with the unbroken wall surface above. This compels one to see the piers as the remains of a forward wall plane, a plane out of which rectangles have been cut in such a way that of it only narrow fillets remain. What at first seemed to be wall with pier articulation, now appears as the remains of a forward wall plane (strips of wall) with sections hollowed out (recesses) between. Which conception is dominant depends upon whether the building is looked at from below upwards or

FIG. 64—*Ceiling, by Pirro Ligorio, in the Loggia of the Casino of Pius IV, Vatican, Rome*

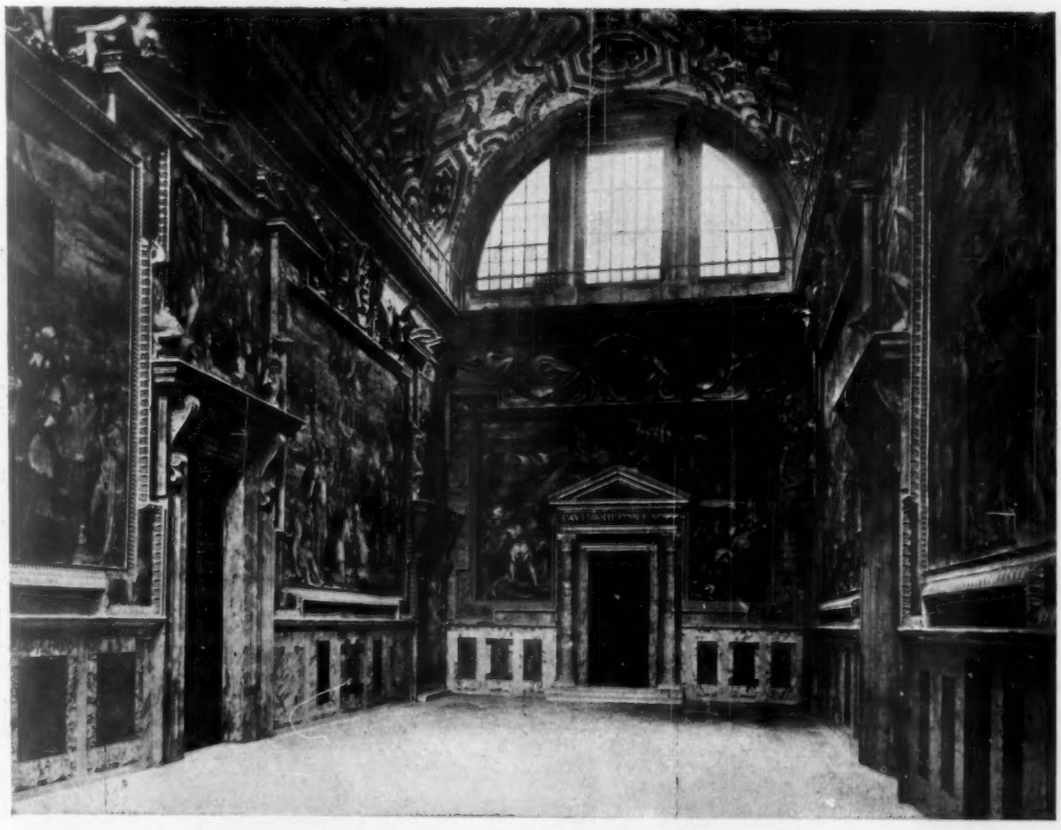

FIG. 65—*Sala Regia in the Vatican, Rome*

FIG. 66—*Façade, by Sante Lombardi, of S. Giorgio de' Greci, Venice*

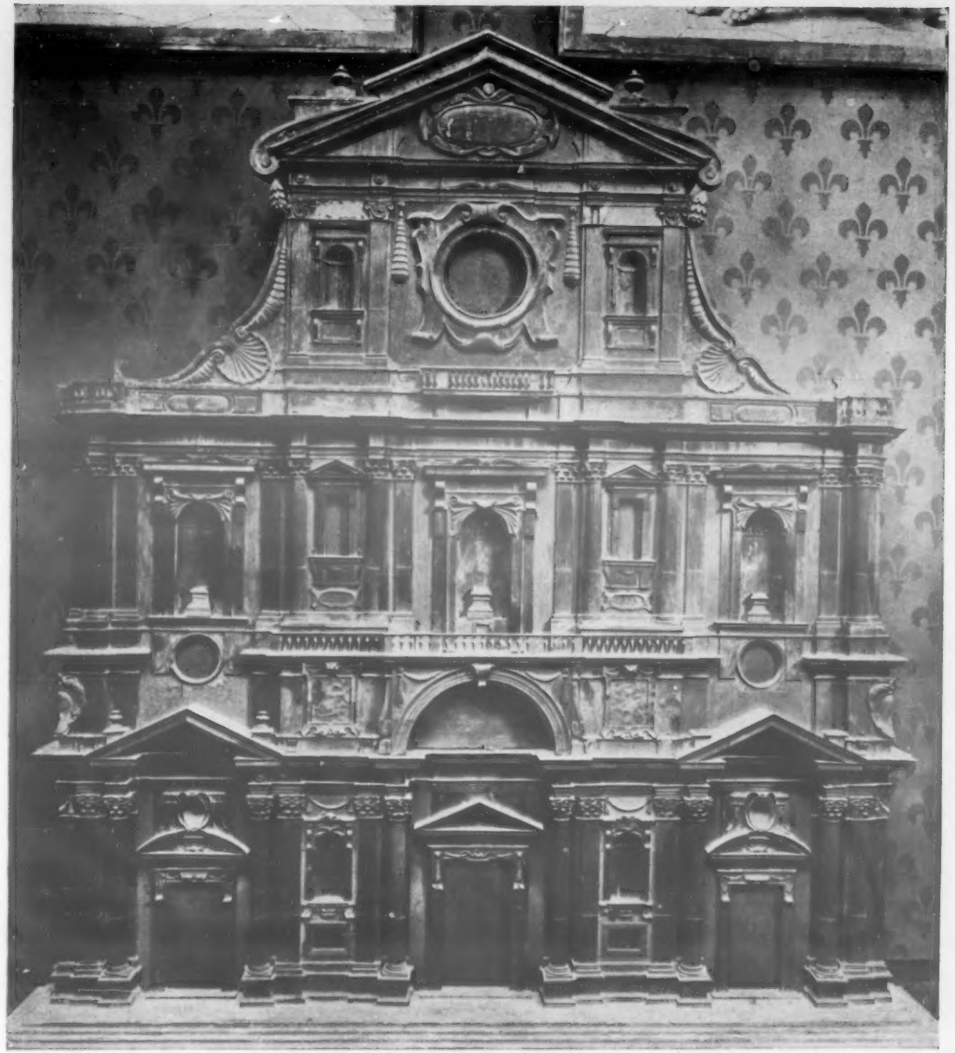

FIG. 67—*Model by Buontalenti for the Façade of the Cathedral of Florence*

from above downwards. One can thus say that the wall itself evokes the impression of unstable movement.[185] Double function and inversion are achieved by one order, or by two standing one above the other, being connected in conflicting directions. Here the impression of unstable movement reigns by alternative conceptions of the function of the wall: that which appears to be wall has the effect of a recessed plane, those which seem piers have the effect of wall, and vice versa. As double function and inversion make a clear conception of enclosed divisions in their horizontal and their vertical relation to one another impossible, so now one remains uncertain as to the real nature of the outside wall. This functional duplicity peculiar to the wall may be called *permutation*.[186]

It seems again to the point to refer to the Palazzo Rucellai and the façade of S. Susanna as regards the nature of their walls. The outside wall of the Palazzo Rucellai remains in one undivided plane. The wall of the façade of S. Susanna is indeed graded, but each plane is clear, it runs unbroken up the whole height of the building—the outside wall is, in fact, unequivocally established.

Reference to these simple examples has shown that when orders and walls comprise conflicts within themselves, the impression is one of unstable movement. We have found that double function, inversion, and permutation lead the eye restlessly here, there, and everywhere. The states of suspense inherent in such architecture are insoluble: there is no possibility of an ultimate balance and repose. Italian architecture of the sixteenth century found undreamed-of possibilities of elaborating the simplest of the principles here revealed, of varying and combining them. A particularly rich example of the crafty combination of double function, inversion, and permutation is Bernardo Buontalenti's model of 1587 for the façade of the cathedral at Florence (Fig. 67).

In no architecture, however, has the idea of conflict been carried through in so new and individual a manner, and with such relentless consistency as in the anteroom of the Laurenziana. Michelangelo has submitted the whole building, in general as in detail, to the idea of conflict. If the Ricetto deserves in this respect a particular place in the history of architecture, it is nevertheless clear from all its features that Michelangelo in this building made himself the supreme representative of a style appearing everywhere during these years, a style the particular character of which is as distinct from Renaissance as from Baroque.

There is no doubt that all the buildings which from the conflict inherent in them give the impression of unstable movement can be together classified as Mannerist buildings. Into the origin, history, and meaning of this Mannerist idea it is not necessary to enter here: much has been written on the subject.[187] It must only be born in mind that in recent years a general agreement has been reached to use the term Mannerism to cover the style of the period of about 1520-1600. Investigations of

185. The same kind of complications occurs inside the library so soon as the consideration of the classical simple row is abandoned in favor of consideration of the spaces between the pilasters.

186. *Permutation* in its mathematical sense: the reversal of given elements. In the study of language the word is used when parts of a sentence have a function other than that originally proper to them. Since the essence of that kind of interplay of wall planes consists in a reversal of functions, we have taken over the expression.

187. See Weisbach in *Zeitschrift f. bildende Kunst*, 1919, pp. 161ff.; Friedländer in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1925, pp. 49ff.

Mannerism have left architecture out of account and applied the term exclusively to painting.[188] Now it is easily demonstrated that unstable movement is a law of Mannerism of all kinds. Convincing proof is the Mannerist representation of human figures *(figura serpentinata)* and treatment of surfaces (play of projections and recesses) in painting: the identity of idea is evident.

The whole group of Mannerist buildings, the most important representative of which we have recognized in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, must now be more carefully circumscribed in their relation to Renaissance and Baroque. The time between the beginning of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century can be seen in principle as a whole. Behind, it is separated from the Gothic, before, from modern architecture. That which distingishes our five hundred years and isolates it is its peculiar attitude to structure. In Gothic the structure depends on the skeleton of the columns; the walls are placed between them. One could remove the walls and leave the structural framework. Some eighty years ago iron and concrete began to change completely our conception of building. A skeleton, standing without walls, once more as in Gothic forms the structural kernel of architecture. Between Gothic and modern building lies our epoch, within which the walls are the chief feature. Take these away and the building falls. The structural strength is in the walls. The wall is divided and articulated by orders, that is to say by the system borrowed from the antique of columns, half columns, pilasters. Take away these orders and the rough walls remain.

The elements common to the whole period are thus the building in walls and the decoration and articulation of these by means of orders. Within this definition walls and orders can be fashioned in the most diverse manners. But the possibilities can be brought within two fundamental divisions: 1, wall and orders are rigid, unmoved, self-contained, and in their respective senses static; 2, wall and orders are in movement, subject to an all-pervading tension, in their respective senses dynamic. A task no one has yet undertaken is to make an exhaustive classification of static and dynamic types of building. We are accustomed to understand this contrast in the structure of buildings in the chronological sequence: Renaissance—Baroque. In fact, the static buildings do stand at the beginning of the whole period. Dynamic buildings first occur in the late sixteenth century. But the static continue to exist side by side with the dynamic, and at the end of the whole period even displace them once more.

Both static and dynamic buildings—we refer again to our two examples, the façades of the Palazzo Rucellai and S. Susanna—are clearly comprehensible. Static architecture from Renaissance to Classicism knows no conflict inherent in the architecture.

188. Recently attempts have been made to characterize Mannerist architecture. Voss (*Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz*, Berlin, 1920, pp. 10ff.) and Dvořák (*Geschichte der italienischen Kunst*, Munich, 1928, II, pp. 113ff., 197) emphasize the unity of style between Mannerist painting and architecture. Particular manifestations of Mannerist architecture were collected by Dagobert Frey in *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, III (1924), p. 98, and Walter Friedländer in *Repertorium f. Kunstwissenschaft*, 1925, pp. 56f. The problem has now been treated from various points of view. The works of L. Hagelberg in *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1931, pp. 264-80, and Michalski in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1933, pp. 88-109, does not go much beyond Riegl, who saw the conflict simply in relation of strength to burden. Two authors, Panofsky (in *Staedel-Jahrbuch*, 1930, pp. 65-72) and H. Sedlmayr (*Die Architektur Borrominis*, 1930, pp. 152ff.) see as we do the essential characteristic of Mannerist architecture in a twofold structure (see Panofsky, *Idea*, 1924, p. 43).

An inner suspense, on the other hand, is the very essence of dynamic Baroque. Where masses interpenetrate one another, where there is ceaseless movement, where vital strengths constantly clash—there are naturally suspense and conflict. But all these dynamically conceived buildings carry a solution in themselves. As well static as dynamic buildings can only be translated into instability in that—as has been described—wall and orders comprise two conflicting possibilities, so that one is perpetually faced with the unanswerable question: is this to be regarded thus or thus.

Mannerist double meaning can be expressed in different degrees in a static or a dynamic structure. Instability can be confined to the orders without touching the walls, or to the walls without touching the orders (interior of the library); to the framework alone without reference to wall and orders (rupture and cleavage of frames), to decorative details. It can, however, as in the case of the interior of the Ricetto, penetrate the building in all these respects. So it comes about that there are buildings bearing more or less of the stamp of Mannerism—from the earliest hardly perceptible double functional complexity of S. Maria di Loreto in Rome, to Buontalenti's model for the Florentine cathedral. Every Mannerist building thus in greater or less degree reveals its structure as essentially static or dynamic. Asking now whether the architecture of the Ricetto is developed from a static or a dynamic basis, there can be no doubt that the whole Laurenziana is fundamentally a static structure. In the Ricetto we have a rigid system of four walls, each articulated strictly within itself.

On the ground of the recessing of the wall and the important part played by masses, the Laurenziana has been termed already a Baroque building. Within the period we are treating as a unity, from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, there is a tendency towards the emancipation of sculptural masses. This development reaches its highest point in the Roman Baroque of 1650; afterwards a reaction sets in. The effective course of the development is naturally widely differentiated. Thus, already in the twenties of the sixteenth century an intense striving after the freedom of plastic volumes is apparent (see Raphael's Palazzo Caffarelli, 1515). Not even in this connection is the Ricetto an isolated phenomenon, but forms a link in a chain. So much movement within so confined a space had, indeed, hitherto never been dared. The strong plastic element in the architecture of the second and third decades is in complete accord with the development of painting and sculpture. It has been attempted to introduce in this connection the idea of Proto-Baroque —whence arose the mistake of seeing Proto-Baroque in a straight line of development with the Early Baroque of 1600. We cannot here go into the question of the exact point at which the deep cleft between Proto-Baroque and Early Baroque opens. For architecture it has been shown that in spite of the free use of masses, we are in Proto-Baroque concerned with a static basis of structure which is fundamentally different from the dynamic structure of the Baroque.

It seems that we have now established the specific character and the stylistic position and meaning of the Laurenziana. To resume: 1, Genetically the type of the Ricetto is a new creation. In it for the first time the idea of the Baroque staircase hall is developed. 2, The unrelieved tension inherent in the building both as a whole and in detail compels us to separate it alike from the fundamentally

tensionless static buildings of the Renaissance, and from the dynamic buildings of the Baroque—whose inherent conflict finds repose within the building itself. The Laurenziana belongs to a big group of buildings arranged on similar principles, common between 1520 and 1580/90 and to be called *Mannerist.* 3, The element of conflict in the Laurenziana is developed out of a rigid, static system. Before 1550 there are apparently no buildings dynamic in their structure, in which walls and orders are subject to the laws of movement. Thus, the architecture of the Laurenziana is a case of the transposition of a complex of building conceived on Renaissance lines, even though, 4, the play of masses and the strong relief of all parts of the building approaches High Baroque.[189] It would be false to conclude from this that the architecture of the Laurenziana is Baroque in character. In this connection it stands in line with a group of buildings of the High Renaissance. 5, The particular character of the Ricetto comes, however, from the fact that in so small a room such strong relief should be used and the wall so deeply broken up. This gives the effect of an overwhelming oppression, and from it the unstable conflict derives its powerful domination.

The Laurenziana stands at the beginning of a completely new view of architectural tradition. The ideas here conceived go in their consequence and strength beyond anything like-minded architects of the time could or dared to imagine. Here is the key to a wide territory of unexplored or misinterpreted architectural history; from this standpoint it is possible to explain a number of architectural phenomena of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

189. See P. Frankl, *Entwicklungsphasen der neueren Baukunst,* p. 178: "Die Laurenziana ist in den Körperformen barock, nicht aber in ihrer optischen Erscheinung, noch ist alles flächenhaft ausgebreitet; frontal gesehen...."

APPENDIX

I: Problems of construction

1. The choice of site for the library did not depend entirely on the preservation of the monks' dwellings (see Appendix III) but also on the cost of construction. On April 13, 1524 (Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 224) the pope declared himself to be satisfied only "quando voi non abbiate arrifondare; perche non vole fare una libreria per avere arrifondare quasi tutto un convento." On April 29, 1524 (Frey *Briefe...*, p. 226) the popè withheld his agreement from Michelangelo's plan of strengthening the walls by more than one braccio, since they had only the roof to support. After this discussion of the strengthening continues, and Baccio Bigio is called into consultation.

On May 13, 1524 (Frey, p. 227) Michelangelo proposed to erect pilasters outside and inside to run the whole height of the building. Baccio Bigio, on the other hand, proposed to strengthen the walls of the new building by $^1/_4$ on the inside, without touching the old walls at all, making the extra $^1/_4$ rest on the vaulting. Fattucci suggested that Michelangelo should consult specialists on the subject.

2. Eventually, Michelangelo evolved a not too costly way of giving in effect new foundations to the whole building at the back (west side, Fig. 9): he placed against the whole wall arcades supported on pillars which thus took the weight of the upper building. The "disegno de'pilastri," acknowledged by Fattucci on July 7, 1524 (Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 232), doubtless refers to these pillars at the back of the building. The pope is content with this solution and Michelangelo is to begin on the foundations.

On September 17 we learn that the execution is in the hands of Baccio Bigio (*Ibid.*, p. 236), leaving Michelangelo free for the figures of the Medici Chapel. On November 6 (*Ibid.*, p. 240) a number of the pillars are already constructed.

Just as on the façade, the windows of the library lie in a deeper plane—here apparently the plane of the old walls. On the subject of this scheme the malicious prior of S. Lorenzo, Figiovanni, angered by the dirt and discomfort involved by the work expressed himself to the pope that Michelangelo was working the library into a dovecote ("fate la libreria in colombaia," October 1, 1524: Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 237).

3. On the façade (east side) the cloisters acted as buttresses to old and new walls. In the west wall as in the east the relation of interior to exterior is clearly expressed. The skeleton of the new building

consists of pillars bound together by thinner, that is to say lighter, walls. The pillars appear on the outside as piers, inside as pilasters. This solution of the problem of construction considerably diminishes the weight of the new walls.

Outside, as in, the windows lie in a recessed plane; the plain wall above the windows outside is built all of one piece with the piers which divide them, while on the inside the same piece of wall is recessed and therefore lightened by the almost square tabernacles.

Fattucci wrote to Michelangelo on April 12, 1525 (Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 250) that the pope was pleased with the windows inside and outside, and also with the tabernacles over them on the inside. Michelangelo had evidently sent to Rome a final report of the details of the library articulation; the outside windows were at that time already in process of construction (*Ricordo* of April 3, 1525. See Milanesi, *Lettere...*, p. 597). One can also deduce from Fattucci's letter that the library façade as we see it today was considered complete by Michelangelo, that the plain stretch of wall above the windows was not, in fact, to be enlivened in any way.

4. Special difficulties were presented from the beginning by the security of the Ricetto walls. Under the Ricetto is the chapel of the monastery. Since the Ricetto had to be wider than the chapel it was apparently necessary to erect a wall in the room next to the chapel, on which wall the south wall of the Ricetto now rests.

At the back of the Ricetto (west side) the strengthening of the wall projects 34 cm. beyond the surface of the library wall. This strengthening rests on the vaulting of a Quattrocento loggia above which there was at the time of Michelangelo's construction an open terrace, from which a spiral stair led to the roof of the Ricetto (visible on the drawing of Battista da Sangallo, Fig. 32, and in G. B. Nelli's measured drawings of the Ricetto: Uffizi no. 3712). The terrace has recently been glazed and roofed in.

To the east wall also Michelangelo gave more strengthening than he gave to the neighboring wall of the library. This wall of the Ricetto projects, however, only 11 cm. beyond the library. As soon as Michelangelo reckoned with the strengthening of the Ricetto walls he was compelled to double the piers at the point where the Ricetto projects beyond the library. The doubling of the piers was necessitated also (as can be seen from a glance at the ground plan) by the interior design. Both these elements, the slightly projecting façade of the Ricetto and the juxtaposition of the two piers, interrupting the regular sequence of the windows of the façade, must have been welcomed by Michelangelo in the interests of the general effect of the façade in the first plan: this conception of library and Ricetto left one just aware of two different buildings, but not so that the primary unity of the whole was disturbed. It eliminated the shock of discovering behind a single façade an interior divided into two quite different kinds of rooms.

The homogeneity of interior and exterior shown in the library was from the beginning impossible in the Ricetto, as can be seen from the section in Fig. 12. The necessary discrepancy between inside and outside leads to a comparative thinness of the walls at certain places. It was apparently in consideration of this fact that Michelangelo avoided a massive superstructure. The broadening of the piers in the upper part of the building was to carry the heavy beams of the roof.

The small window in the middle of the façade before the renovation of the nineteenth century demands some explanation. It is a later opening apparently of a time when, for reasons as yet obscure, the windows of the north and west wall were partly bricked in. This window lies, on the one hand, too high to be brought into connection with the intermediary plan, and, on the other, it is too low for the final plan.

Of the second story on the inside only the south wall was completed under Michelangelo's direction. The three other walls remained in the rough, and were finished only at the time of the recent renovation. Only thus is it understandable that the window should be opened without consideration of the articulation of the story. It can thus in no way be connected with the original building.

II: Origin of Sheet Frey 234 (Fig. 11)

The production of this sheet can be followed step by step. Michelangelo first marked off the sides and top of the wall. Then he began at the top putting in the lines of the vaulting, did not go on with the attic but established the base into which he immediately inserted the two doors, at equal distances from the boundary line of the wall. Simultaneously with the left-hand door the section of the staircase was added. Only then did he begin to fill the space between vault and base with the attic. The articulation of the attic he drew too broad from the beginning, so that the division which should have lain axially below the small rectangular window in the wall of the vault fell a little too much to the right. The first tentative indication of the central division of the attic is that vertical line which breaks into the left-hand circular panel. The following division on the right with its circular panel is considerably broader, so that the last projecting rectangular division had to be correspondingly smaller in order to be included within the original outline. Though he has succeeded in squeezing this division into the original outline, half of a receding division with which the attic on the left-hand side should correspondingly finish, is missing. This missing half attic division was now added outside the original outline, and, to avoid difficulties in the division of the main story, he extended the new outline running to the bottom. A similar extension must now be added at the left-hand side, but logically he did not draw the new boundary line here—as on the right—parallel to the old, but at an acute angle. Hence at the bottom there was an extension such that the door frames were again equidistant from the new outlines. In the main story drawn last of all ensued still a change of scale in relation to the attic. The axis of the central tabernacle division is thrown out to the right of the corresponding part of the attic, and the following pair of columns is even more markedly displaced in relation to the division with the circular panel properly lying over it. Severe narrowing down of the last tabernacle division could at least restore to some degree axial connection with the corresponding attic division, but a pilaster of the tabernacle division, and the outermost column, had to be drawn outside the proper boundary line.

III: The beginning of building. Discussion as to the site

At the beginning of plans for the library stands the discussion of site. Below is collected all that can be gleaned today from sources on the subject:

1. Before December 30, 1523, a design for the library by Michelangelo's helper, the miniaturist Stefano di Tomaso, arrived in Rome (Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 201). On this scheme there is a division into two libraries: one for the Latin and one for the Greek books (Fattucci's letter of January 2, 1524. Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 204). The pope demands a design from Michelangelo's own hand. That this first design was not by Michelangelo and was sent without his knowledge is proved by a letter of his own hand to Fattucci of January, 1524 (Milanesi, *Lettere* ..., p. 431—clearly, the answer to Fattucci's letter of January 2); in this he protests that he knows nothing of the library building, but will find out about it on the return of Stefano from Carrara. This justifies the conclusion that Stefano di Tomaso—who took further part in the affairs of the library—was responsible for the first design.

2 *a*. Michelangelo's first plan arrived in Rome on January 21, 1524 (Fattucci's letter to Michelangelo of January 30; see Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 209). From Fattucci's letter it can be deduced that Michelangelo chose the present position for the library. For this conclusion speaks the phrase "...volta a mezodì," i. e. as today, facing north and south. The pope demands—against danger of fire—vaulting in both the lower stories; this also can only be referred to the present site. In Fattucci's letter of February 9 (Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 211) it is explicitly stated that this scheme is planned over the monastery. At the pope's desire Michelangelo sends accurate plans of the monastery in both its stories to Rome. Hence, it emerges that this scheme necessitates the destruction of seven rooms on the ground floor and seven on the first.

b. Clement VII, pleased with the scheme itself, nevertheless demands in Fattucci's letter of February 9 plans for another site – since the use of this one involves the destruction of too many of the monastery rooms. We learn here of the new plan as follows: "Let Stefano or any one else you think fit inform himself as to the placing of a library on the square and towards the Borgo San Lorenzo and see exactly how much of what would have to be taken for the library belongs to the priests and how much to shops and house owners." It is further to be ascertained what the price of the purchase would be.

The pope here contemplates, in consideration of the preservation of the monastery, taking the library out of the precincts of the church to that street which runs from the cathedral to the Piazza San Lorenzo and is still today called Borgo San Lorenzo. In connection with this seems to have originated the drawing Casa Buonarroti 81 (Frey 235; Thode, II, p. 120, III, no. 143), which gives a plan of the site with the names of occupants. From top to bottom the list runs: "losteria—di san Lorenzo—meser andrea martelli—una chapella in santo stefano—del bechuto—di san lorenzo—del bechuto—san Lorenzo." Here, then, is noted, as the letter demanded, what belongs to the clerics and what to private owners. Of a S. Stefano in that neighborhood no trace is to be found. "Del bechuto" is the name of an old Florentine family (Orlandini del Beccuto), to whom before 1432 a palace in that quarter also belonged (today Palazzo Vai. See Limburger, *Gebäude von Florenz*, 1910, no. 706. About Andrea Martelli see Frey, *loc. cit.*). .The names on the sheet thus give no evidence for the identification of the site. Thode sees in this sheet the plan of the houses adjoining the library on the west side; the list from top to bottom he takes from south to north. Both ideas are baseless. As unlikely is Frey's attempt to connect the drawing with a passage in a letter of March 10, 1524: "Circa le case che sono verso la via della Stufa dice [the pope] che le vole gittare in terra...." The Via della Stufa runs north in the line of the façade of S. Lorenzo (Fig. 6). This must refer, therefore, to the houses which still today stand against the north long wall of the church, and has nothing whatever to do with the library building. This clearance would scarcely be so important as to demand a plan of the site from Michelangelo's own hand. On February 18 Michelangelo's assignments had not yet reached Rome. In a letter of this day Fattucci demands of Michelangelo that he send the cost for "bottege, case, camere che s'abino a guastare sotto et sopra" (Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 212). Should this be taken as a comparision between the cost of the respective plans?

c. End of February Fattucci acknowledges a letter of Michelangelo's (Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 213), but declares that he does not want to show it to the pope, as it does not show how many rooms must be destroyed. Michelangelo must write on this subject and perhaps send sketches. Since a few weeks previously the destruction of seven rooms above and seven below was spoken of, a new plan by Michelangelo must here be under consideration, a plan in which he contrives to destroy fewer rooms. Michelangelo thus attempts to meet the pope over the question of the destruction of part of the monastery, as he seems reluctant to abandon the site which he recognizes to be the right one for the library.

In placing the library on the Piazza and Borgo San Lorenzo Michelangelo considers that the façade of the church will be overwhelmed by the superior height which the library must have. This idea of Michelangelo's is perhaps at the back of Fattucci's words: "Piacegli [the pope] assai la vostra considerazione rispetto alla faccia di S. Lorenzo." Before this he says Michelangelo is to build the library where *he* wishes.

d. Michelangelo sends two designs to Rome which are acknowledged on March 10, 1524 (Gotti, *op. cit.*, I, p. 165; see also the beginning of the letter in Frey, *Briefe...*, p. 216). A scheme is accepted in which the library is 96 braccia long (55.68 m.; actual measurment: 58.40 m.), in which a difference in level at the entrance of 6 braccia has to be contended with (3.48 m.; actual measurement: 3.04 m.), and in which, finally, dwelling rooms lie under the library which the pope wished, against the danger of fire, to have vaulted. All this points to the conclusion that a scheme was chosen on the present site, a scheme which in its fundamental division into staircase hall and library and approximately in its main measurements already agrees with the actual construction.

REVIEWS

EL SIMBOLISMO EN LA ESCULTURA MEDIEVAL ESPAÑOLA. *By Dom. Ramiro de Pinedo (Benedictine Monk), 205 pp., 76 ills. Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1930.*

A fascinating and stimulating book deserves credit for what it is whatever else it may not be. This book by Dom. Ramiro de Pinedo is essentially ontological. It is systematic, but not systematized; scholastic, rather than scholarly. The reader must not expect an organic and articulate iconographical corpus. What the enlightened author has presented is a picturesque exegesis of a selected group of monuments.

The treatise provokes, by omission, a number of questions regarding iconographical methodology but the author has a definite attitude toward symbolism which he expounds in the introduction. The symbol is a mystery, a natural sign devised to demonstrate the mysteries of a supernatural order. It presupposes a divine revelation and blossoms like the flowers and fruits which grow from the stems of plants. Christ pronounced the fundamental rule of Christian symbolism when he said to his disciples: "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God: but to others (only) in parables." (Luke viii, 10.) But the ingenuous reader is likely to find the one mystery as baffling as the other in the pages that follow.

We are told that the Early Christians required no specialist to explain the symbolism of the catacombs, which has become unintelligible for the Christians of today. This symbolism was the catechism of the people, the authentic and tangible interpretation of the mysteries of the faith. A key to this material, a document of immense significance, to which the author also devotes a brief epilogue is the *Clavis Melitoniae*, a compilation of twenty-four lost manuals, to which was added an *Apologia* and catechism, written by the second century Bishop Miletus of Sardis. This document has been published by the Benedictine monk subsequently Cardinal Juan Bautista Pitra.

Some pages are devoted to an account of the influence of the Melitonian formulas on the early mediaeval plastic art of Spain, at Santa Maria de Naranco (Oviedo), consecrated in 848 A. D., San Miguel de Escalada, the Beatus commentaries, etc., which also involves a digression concerning the primacy of Spain rather than Burgundy in the development of mediaeval sculpture.

In order to understand symbolism it is necessary to be united in spirit with the people of the time which produced it: "llenándonos de la infantil ingenuidad que tanta gracia da a los relatos medievales, esa ingenuidad que es el arte mismo, y de la que se sacan consecuencias verdaderamente inesperadas." (P. 22.) If we can learn to think and feel like the artists, monks, and priests who were responsible for the monuments we shall discover how all of the sacred truths of the Christian religion have been given plastic form.

Subsequent chapters represent the embodiment of these ideals in practice and we are shown how sermons have been preached in stone. The chapter headings give some indication of the material but they must not be considered as inclusive designations since the monuments are limited in number: *Acanthus Leaves; Flowers and Fruits; The Tree of Life; Birds; Tree of Life, Falcons and Rabbits; The Immensity of God; The Locusts of the Apocalypse; Dragon in the Tree of Life; Fantastic Tourney; The Soldiers of Christ; Two Portals; Two Windows; The Baptismal Font on the Sanctuary of Estíbaliz.* (Estíbaliz and Silos supply most of the material considered, all of which is Romanesque.)

To illustrate the procedure, what is perhaps the most ingenious sample will best serve, a discussion of La Puerta Speciosa, of the church of Estíbaliz, and its identification as a representation of the prophecy of Isaiah (pp. 145-176). A splayed portal is flanked by two decorated columns and a sculptured jamb on either side, with four decorated archivolts forming the upper frame. There is no tympanum.

The door is Christ. "His children are far from safety and they are crushed in the gate, neither is there any to deliver them." (Job v, 4.) Hrabanus Maurus explains this passage by saying that the people of the synagogue were corrupted by their infidelity, then Christ came through the same portal (gate) which is, therefore, the Holy Virgin. Ezekiel (xlii, 2, and xliv, 2) further supports the idea along with the evidence of the liturgical song "Salve Porta" and the "portal closed before and after," of the Roman missal.

The columns are decorated, two with a pattern of four-petaled flowers, two with interlacing bands. They represent the sacred scriptures: "He made the pillars there of silver" (Solomon's Song iii, 10), which Hrabanus Maurus interprets to mean that Christ made the scriptures intelligible to the Church. The meaning of the columns is further expanded to include spiritual virtue, the apostles, the angels, etc., with references to Kings vii, 21; Psalms lxxiv, 4; Galatians ii, 9; Job ix, 6. The foliate and interlace decoration of the shafts represents the saints.

The key to the interpretation of the portal is found in the first capital on the right, which is decorated with acanthus leaves, of which the central one is ornamented with three pearls. A head is carved above, on the abacus, with eyes "desmesuradmente abiertos y sumidos en el infinito." The acanthus was expounded in a previous chapter. Its thorns are symbols of the vices, idolatry, etc. The pearls are symbols of the desire for celestial things, "when he had found one pearl of great price, [he] went and sold all that he had, and bought it." (Matthew xiii, 46). This church is a temple of the Virgin. Her greatest glory was the incarnation of her Son. The leaves tell how the chosen people fell from grace, but some among them desired celestial things, the pearls, namely the advent of the Messiah, and the head with its

*

"inordinately opened eyes sunken in the infinite" is Isaiah pronouncing the words of the service of Advent. "Looking from afar, behold I see the power of God approaching and a cloud which covers the whole earth." This passage occurs in the *Antiphona* of the Vespers for the second Sunday of Advent *(Ecce in nubibus coeli Dominus veniet cum potestate magna, alleluia)*, but no authority is given for putting the words in the mouth of Isaiah. The question concerning the identity of the new ruler of the people of Israel is answered on the other face of the capital, where the leaves are of a different form and the pearls are more abundant and a dove is taking flight: "I am he who will reign over Israel. I am the dove...." (the author gives the obviously mistaken reference, Solomon's Song ii, 1), and Prudentius is called upon to explain that this is the descent of the dove (Christ) to earth (the Incarnation) to escape the cruel eagles (idolatry, Satan, and sin) through snow and tempest (the labors of this world) which are also symbolized by the thorns of the acanthus.

It is interesting to compare the passage from the book which relates to Prudentius with the passage in Prudentius which is used as authority. The specific citation is not given, but there seems to be only one passage in the *Ante Cibum* which could be meant. "Oigamos al divino Prudencio decirnos lo que esta paloma significa: 'Paloma del Cielo (Cristo) que en su vuelo hacia la tierra (la Encarnación) hace huir a las crueles águilas (la idolatria, el demonio y el pecado) a través de las nieves y tempestades (los trabajos de este mundo) simbolizados también en las espinas del acanto.'" (Pp. 155-156.)

> .... Exagitansque truces aquilas
> Per vaga nubila, perque notos
> Sidere lapsa columba fugat.
>
> (Migne, Pat. Lat. LIX, 808)

The second capital presents another form of acanthus and larger pearls and on the abacus where the first capital showed a head there is a lily with eight petals. The number eight symbolizes regeneration so the lily is the symbol of the Virgin whose Son has regenerated us with His blood.

The third capital confirms this idea, decorated with a rose bush bearing a blossom with five petals, the bush of Moses (Exodus iii, 2) which is referred to in the vesper service of the Feast of the Purification: "Rubum quem viderat Moyses incombustum, conservatam agnovimus tuam laudabilem Virginitatem."

The fourth capital is decorated with so-called stylized fern leaves (which look like acanthus leaves, p. 159), symbols of humility. On the abacus is carved a lily with four petals: "I am the flower of the field [rose of Sharon] and the lily of the valleys" (Solomon's Song ii, 1). The four petals indicate that Christ is human since there are four elements in the human body; and this lily is produced by the fern, the humble plant. Thus, again, the prophecy of Isaiah is represented: "Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son." (vii, 14.)

The study of the jambs becomes even more complex and the figures entwined in the vine are interpreted as: Isaiah (the illustration, p. 160, is upside down), recognized by a scroll (viii, 1); the daughters of Zion, represented by a woman who is said to illustrate the attitude attributed to these proud women by Isaiah (iii, 16); the destruction of the Egyptians and the Ethiopians (Isaiah xx, 2), represented by a nude man; the voice calling in the wilderness (Isaiah xl, 3), represented by a man gesturing as if speaking (it might also represent the injunction of God to the prophet to cry out unceasingly against the hypocrisy of the Jews); then, the turbulent waters of the Euphrates (viii, 6, 7, and 8), represented by a man pouring a liquid from a wine-skin. The interpretation of this small and modest portal goes on and on but this is probably a good place to stop because the author tells us at this point that the wine-skin, according to the Fathers, is a symbol of the obscure phrases of the prophets, to which we might venture to add the iconographer's.

However accurate the interpretations of the author may be, and it must be admitted that they sometimes strike us as arbitrary, they serve a valuable purpose. They indicate how completely these mediaeval churches were built up of the fabric of Christian mysteries—the stone seems almost to become transparent in the light of this transcendentalism. But the symbolism is of a mystic character which cannot be accounted for entirely by an appeal to Oriental tradition, which is the author's exclusive concern in the consideration of external sources. Perhaps the decorative dynamism of Nordic art which the monuments discussed so clearly reveal also had an influence on the symbolism in its mystical ramifications. The purpose of the learned monks would seem to have been the indulgence in a spiritual exercise whose intensity is not to be measured by the degree of communicability which they achieved. This sort of symbolism was hardly developed as a message to the common people; it was a message and a worthy offering to God.

Early Christianity employed symbolic formulas because of the secret and mystic nature of the mystery cults which had influenced it, because of its need of protection and the necessity of clandestine worship, as a didactic device which emphasized otherworldly and spiritual rather than the naturalistic values bequeathed by a classical tradition, and for other reasons which seem to be largely tinged with a background of Oriental culture. The Nordic converts decorated to enrich and glorify, to transform either the visible or the literal into the spiritual in the patterns of those dynamic marvels of decorative elegance which seem to represent a sort of aesthetic animism (Scythian metal work, Celtic illumination).

In the Middle Ages these "transcendental symbolists" and these "transcendental decorators" became one, and the rich store of material from which Dom. Ramiro de Pinedo has chosen a few examples was the result. But the problems of interpretation seem to involve more than a topical exegesis. The latter deals largely with constants since it is literal and deductive, whereas interpretation, insofar as it is historical, must also concern itself with variables.

EDWARD F. ROTHSCHILD

STUDIEN ZUR SPANISCHEN ARCHITEKTUR DER SPAETGOTIK. *By Georg Weise. Tuebinger Forschungen zur Archaeologie und Kunstgeschichte, vol. XIV. Gryphius Verlag, Reutlingen, 1933.*

In reaction against the viewpoint that Spanish architecture of the late Middle Ages was a provincial

reflection of French architecture, Professor Weise has undertaken to show that Spanish architecture of the late Gothic period created its own national style. Three of the four essays of this volume are directly concerned with this subject. The fourth; in which Weise submits the theory that the churches of the interior of Spain were the prototypes of the Gesù in Rome, contributes only indirectly, but it too serves to emphasize the independence of the Spanish churches.

The first essay, *The Continuation of the Islamic Dome in Spanish Late Gothic Architecture,* introduces new evidence to show the wide-spread use of the squinch, or Muslim, dome in the fifteenth, and even in the sixteenth, century. This is of value in emphasizing the Muslim elements in Spanish Christian architecture.

The second essay, *The Late Gothic Pilaster Church with Centralized East End as a Prototype of the Baroque Church of the Gesù Type,* develops a statement made by Dehio and Bezold (*Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, II, Stuttgart, 1901, p. 478) that the Castilian churches of a single nave with side chapels, and a dome over the transept crossing, were very similar to the Baroque churches. Due to the meagerness of their material, Dehio and Bezold could only hint at the thesis which Weise puts forth in this essay. It is not illogical to look to Spain for the prototype of the Gesù, since this type of church is so closely bound up with the Spanish party in the Roman church. Mâle also has suggested a Spanish origin (*Art et artists du moyen âge*, Paris, 1927, pp. 151-159). He would derive the Gesù from the hall churches of Catalonia and southern France, but Weise states that the necessary combination of elements does not occur here, but only in the interior of Spain, in an area comprising Valladolid, Salamanca, Toledo, and Madrid. According to him, the elements which distinguish the Gesù are the use of a single nave, side chapels, centralized east end, a tower over the transept crossing, and a gallery over the side chapels. Weise discusses a large number of cloister churches which are pilaster churches, with or without side chapels, having a non-protruding transept when there are chapels. But in all of these examples the dome over the crossing, and the galleries are missing. To find them one must turn to larger churches. And here, too, Weise himself remarks, either the dome is absent or the galleries. Only one example, San Francesco in Medina de Rioseco (Valladolid), probably begun before 1520, possesses all the desired elements. Weise suggests that a more intensive search will reveal other examples. I believe one may be sceptical that a great deal of evidence will be forthcoming, since small provincial churches cannot be expected to possess all these features. Weise's argument employs the quantitative method popular with modern anthropologists, namely, that that area which contains the greatest number of elements to be found in a later culture, is the place of origin of the later culture. However, Weise has unnecessarily limited the possible sources of the Baroque style, since not all of the features of which he speaks were foreign to Rome. The use of a dome over the east end in a church of basilical plan occurs repeatedly in the great cathedrals of Italy, and it is pointless to consider this an imported element. On the other hand, the employment of a single nave with side chapels has a long Spanish history, and its use in Italy was undoubtedly derived from Spain. The Jesuit general, St. Francis of Borja, instructed Vignola to build a church with one nave and side chapels, but whether he was thinking of Catalonian or Castilian churches it is difficult to guess. Sangallo, who, according to Mâle, was employed by the Catalan colony in the city of Rome, had constructed such churches, and Vignola even finished one of them, San Tolomeo in Nepi. If Sangallo was instructed by the Catalans, then Mâle's theory of a Catalonian origin seems more likely than Weise's theory.

The third essay is *The Evolution of Space and Ground Plan in Spanish Architecture.* According to Weise, Spanish Gothic architecture of the French style was transformed under the influence of Moorish traditions into a national Spanish style. The Moorish characteristics which he finds operative in this transformation are the method of building broad churches without a dominating axis, and the use of scenic *(malerisch)* lighting, through which the spatial boundaries disappear. These characteristics, he believes, begin to manifest themselves in the cathedral of Toledo, and they are still operative in the unfinished cathedral of Valladolid. Though Weise believes that the cathedral of Toledo is already influenced by Moorish elements, he finds no further evidence of this influence before the fifteenth century. During the fifteenth century many cathedrals were constructed which were very broad, or even had the rectangular plan of the mosque. Seville, Salamanca, and Valladolid are examples of the rectangular plan.

It is difficult to agree with Weise in this analysis. First, the hall churches of Catalonia, which are derived from southern France, are, as their name implies, also built without a dominating central aisle. In order to prove that the Moors were responsible for this characteristic in the more southern churches, it is necessary to show that it could not possibly have been derived from Catalonia. This Weise does not do. Second, the reduced lighting which Weise observes in the Spanish cathedrals is not a planned scenic lighting. All southern architecture shares this characteristic. Third, it is not true that the Spanish cathedrals can be endlessly expanded as in the case of the mosque. The Spanish cathedrals are bounded by rows of chapels along the walls which serve to limit the space, and also to create a number of transverse axes. While the mosque has no internal focus, the Spanish cathedral has a large number of foci, so that in whichever direction the observer looks, he finds an altar for worship at the end of the vista.

In his last essay, *The National Principle in German and Spanish Art of the Late Gothic Period,* Weise lists many similarities between the Germans and Spaniards. The art of both peoples reaches its highest development when, in the late period of any given style, the national characteristics assert themselves. Neither of the two countries ever achieved an international style, because of the highly individualistic and irrational expression which their art forms assume. However, the Germans and Spaniards are very different from each other, according to Weise, in the actual treatment of art forms. Both are atectonic, but the Germans exaggerate the expression of movement, which is also reflected in the linear style of their ornament, while the Spaniards create quietistic forms which they dissolve in an ornament which is coloristic and lacy. Weise relates this difference in expression to the different national characters of the

two peoples. The Germans, he describes as roving, restless, and romantic, while the Spaniards are apathetic and will-less. German art inherited these characteristics, which react upon the imported art (French, Italian, or Flemish), from its period of tribal migrations; Spanish art received its qualities through the Moorish conquest.

Professor Weise has isolated characteristics in Spanish art which he claims are Muslim, and he states that these are responsible for the national style. He fails to realize what the essential characteristics of that national style are, because he overlooks the very essential Christian elements. He does not see that in the union of Christian and Muslim elements a new architecture was formed, which was different from either the Muslim or the Christian. I have already indicated, in the discussion of the third essay, that the Spanish architects, using a ground plan which was similar to that of the mosque, created a building with a number of axes instead of the one dominating axis of the cathedral. The ornament is likewise treated differently. For instance, in the high altar of Cartuja de Miraflores (fig. 100) several scenes are portrayed, but these are framed by wreaths of small figures, and so filled with other details that the whole is reduced to a twinkling *(tief und dunkel)* decoration, not very dissimilar to the arabesques to be found in the Alhambra. But there is a tremendous aesthetic difference. In the arabesques no unit needs to be focused upon by the observer, while in the altar each of the individual units has a different significance, and requires individual attention. In the arabesque there is simply a multiplication of details, having seen one, the observer has seen all. The difficulty which the observer finds in restricting his attention to any one of the scenes represented on the altar creates an intense restlessness. And yet Weise would have us believe that this ornament is "quietistic."

FLORENCE DIAMOND

WANDTEPPICHE, III, DIE GERMANISCHEN UND SLAVISCHEN LÄNDER, VOL. I, DEUTSCHLAND EINSCHLIESSLICH SCHWEIZ UND ELSASS (MITTELALTER), SUDDEUTSCHLAND (16. BIS 18. JAHRHUNDERT). *By Heinrich Göbel. Berlin, Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1933.*

The first volume of the third part of Dr. Heinrich Göbel's great work on tapestry is now out. When completed by a second volume, this section will cover the Germanic and Slavic countries, the two previous sections having dealt, respectively, with the Low Countries and the Latin countries. The volume at hand is concerned entirely with Germany and Switzerland. It thus deals, for the period up to the sixteenth century, with material that has already been well worked over by Dr. Betty Kurth in her great definitive work, and also, in the special fields of Switzerland and Franconia, by Dr. Burkhardt and Prince Luitpold. But though there is, as a result, little new that Dr. Göbel can offer on this subject either in documents or in actual examples, the book nevertheless constitutes a real contribution to students, first, in that it makes available in more concise statement the achieved results of Dr. Göbel's predecessors, always with the most scrupulous acknowledgment, and second, in summarizing opposing theses on moot points.

Dr. Göbel's exposition is especially admirable in the passages where he explains the essential difference in circumstances and character between the tapestry of the Low Countries, product of a craft professionally organized from an early date and working with the collaboration of master painters, and that of the Germanic cultures, the semi-amateur accomplishment of nuns and ladies, or, at the best, probably of very small shops, and dependent for cartoons on book illustrations or similar models that chanced to be at hand, and for materials on the inferior wool and limited dyeing skill locally available. (Especially p. 14, but also *passim*.) The resultant tapestries, practically all small, are not important works of art, but they are entertaining artefacts with a toy-like charm of their own, and sometimes a certain decorative effectiveness.

Perhaps their greatest interest, as social documents, falls outside the limits of the program and approach which Dr. Göbel has imposed on himself, or which he perhaps took for granted, his being the orthodox German "scientific" *methode*. Where he does expound sources and iconography, he does it well and in just proportion to maintain the balance of his text (e. g., p. 81) though one misses a recognition of Eastern indebtedness in his elucidation of the pattern of the St. Gereon altar hanging. But a study is still to be made of the wider and more fundamental questions of the social setting of these pleasant products of home handcraft, and the light they might help to throw on the mentality of a people who, having made such precocious cultural advances in earlier centuries, should then come to lag so far behind their western neighbors.

The most perplexing questions in this period, while the theories respecting them already promulgated are usually well summarized, are not greatly advanced. Dr Göbel accepts almost without argument Dr. Kurth's attribution to Constance (or that region) of the Metropolitan Museum Crucifixion on a blue, starred ground, with the completing fragment in Nuremberg, and also of the Iklé Virgin and Child fragment (pp. 63 f., figs. 41-43). Moreover, he mentions only in passing the possibility that these are, rather, early French work. As a matter of fact, there has never been a thorough review of the stylistic evidence on these pieces, a dispassionate critical study that eliminated the superficial similarities over a wide area in representations of such religious scenes at the turn of the thirteenth century, and discriminates between these and the really decisive details.

On the second most perplexing problem that falls in this field, the attribution of the Nuremberg Museum tapestry with games and a Court of Love (pp. 84 ff., fig. 57), he makes a carefully impartial statement of the theses so far advanced and remains frankly partly inconclusive, deciding that it cannot possibly be Southeast Germany but must be of South Central or Southwest German origin. That it is South German is based on the assertion that the inscriptions are in a South German dialect. At the same time Dr. Göbel recognizes Lowland (specifically Arras, he considers) features in the style, and also admits that the piece stands alone and has no real descendants in Germany. This makes it the more disappointing that he does not even formulate the possibility of the work not being German at all. The philological case involved should be reopened, with full consideration of the

identity of Flemish and "Low" German, and of the varieties of dialects used in the different sections of the Low Countries in the opening years of the fifteenth century. Even the philological verdict, however, would not have to be accepted as final, for we know that the inscriptions to be incorporated in a tapestry were supplied to the weavers, and about this time a number of German princes and especially princesses had connections that might have led them to patronize Lowland looms without sacrificing their own speech, notably, as Dr. Göbel points out, but to another end, Bavarians. These considerations must be taken fully into account because a good argument can be made, apart from the language, for a Lowland attribution.

Dr. Göbel's account of the later Germanic tapestry production is even more useful because so much of this information has been inconvenient of access in scattered periodical articles. Moreover, at a number of points here he has brought out almost forgotten or wholly new material. As a result, the book will long be for these later periods the standard text, and indeed for the whole subject it is an indispensable reference book for any library which pretends to offer an adequate bibliography on the history of art.

This volume has been made more convenient for reference use by a more rigidly systematic arrangement of the contents and especially by the subdivision of every chapter of any length with glosses. The notes still suffer from the technical defect, which is most annoying in reference use, of not having the name of the chapter in question in the page heading, though the note numbering recommences with "1" for each chapter. Thus you cannot tell whether you are looking at note 61 in the South German or the Middle Rhein section without turning back to find the beginning of that series of numbers. An even more serious inconvenience is the complete lack of an index of owners, nor are the page references given in the captions of the plates. The illustrations for the earlier period are more satisfactory because the tapestries are smaller and hence appear in relatively larger scale, but most of those for the later centuries suffer from the same deficiencies as the plates in the first two illustration volumes, defects that are inseparable from the half-tone method, which is especially bad here because of the coarseness of the screen. But doubtless this as well as the exceedingly unsatisfactory quality of the color plates can be accounted for on financial grounds and in the present circumstances both Dr. Göbel and his publisher are to be congratulated for having gone on with an undertaking of this kind.

PHYLLIS ACKERMAN

LEONARDO DA VINCI: HIS "SAN DONATO OF AREZZO AND THE TAX COLLECTOR." *By R. Langton Douglas. 6 pls. Privately printed at the Chiswick Press, London.*

One of the most interesting pictures in the official Exhibition of Painting of the Century of Progress Exposition at Chicago is the little panel showing San Donato of Arezzo and the Tax Collector (collection of the late Mr. Theodore T. Ellis, Worcester, Mass.), and attributed to Leonardo da Vinci. One says "attributed" because it is as well to bear in mind when we talk of Leonardo that the best of circumstantial evidence is no better than attribution, though the catalogue gives his name without reservation, on the authority of Langton Douglas.

Since Mr. Douglas's publication of the panel is not readily available, it may not be amiss to outline his discussion. One reads it with distinct critical pleasure; it is clear, well written, and—unusual among discussions of Leonardo—neither prejudiced nor overly assured.

Mr. Douglas states his intention precisely:

> "It is claimed, in the first place, that this little panel is a part of the same predella as the small 'Annunciation' in the Louvre, and that, secondly, both panels are by Leonardo da Vinci. Thirdly, it is claimed that these two paintings, the 'Annunciation' and 'San Donato of Arezzo and the Tax Collector' are a portion of the altarpiece of the Oratory of the Madonna di Piazza in the Duomo at Pistoia. Fourthly, it is claimed that Verrocchio was commissioned to paint this altarpiece in or about the year 1475; that he designed it, and painted a considerable part of it; that Leonardo, who was Verrocchio's chief assistant at that time, also worked on it; and that, having been nearly finished about the year 1478, the picture was finally completed, by Lorenzo di Credi, after 1485" (p. 11).

His first point will be little disputed, I believe. Mr. Douglas has examined the two panels together in the Louvre, and reports that in every material detail they correspond—they are of the same size and were cut from the same piece of wood. Similarities in design, in composition, in drawing (i. e., the large hands, the drapery, and the trees) are too obvious to need comment. He points out that the San Donato panel looks brighter and more distinct than that in the Louvre only because it is in better condition and has recently been cleaned. This is a point of stylistic interest: for if the "sfumato" of the Louvre Annunciation (although it weighed considerably in the original attribution to Leonardo) is merely dirt and old varnish, we have a young Leonardo who is more credible as Verrocchio's pupil in the third quarter of the quattrocento. Even so, there remains in these panels an important quality to distinguish them from the work of Verrocchio and his generation—a rich and subdued color scheme which already presages the mature Leonardo.

In proving the correspondence of the two panels, Mr. Douglas has done his work. The Louvre Annunciation is, as he says, the most generally accepted of all the paintings suggested for Leonardo before 1480. His third claim, that both panels are part of the predella for the altarpiece of the Vergine di Piazza in Pistoia, demands proof less than interpretation. In the end, the fact that the finding of this second piece of the predella connects the Louvre Annunciation indubitably with the ancona in Pistoia is its most valuable archaeological aspect. When Valentiner suggested that the Annunciation belonged to that altarpiece (*Art Bull.*, March, 1930, p. 59), it was an interesting and fruitful surmise. Now, however, one can accept it fairly as fact. The identification in this companion panel of a story from the life of San Donato of Arezzo would, in itself, connect the predella with the Vergine di Piazza—a memorial to the Bishop Donato de' Medici, in which San Donato of Arezzo (not

San Zeno or San Zenobio) stands at the Virgin's left hand. Mr. Douglas goes on to point out that the saint on the predella resembles not only the saint on the altarpiece, but also the portrait relief of Donato de' Medici on the opposite wall of the chapel. Satisfied, therefore, that these two panels are the work of Leonardo and were made for Verrocchio's altarpiece in Pistoia, one can proceed to consider the significance of this new arrangement of the facts. It will necessitate a reconsideration of the Monte Oliveto Annunciation (for which the Louvre panel can no longer be considered a study), of several drawings, of the Pistoia altarpiece itself, and of the whole question of Leonardo's position in the bottega of Verrocchio.

Such considerations lead Mr. Douglas to his fourth assumption, where he leaves the matter in hand and advances into the dangerous territory of Verrocchio's workshop. He finds this necessary in order to work out some dating for Leonardo's predella, as well as to define his relation to the whole commission. In definitely connecting the two panels with the Pistoia altarpiece, Mr. Douglas unfortunately opens the way for other doubts. There is very little exact information to be had about the altarpiece: Verrocchio's is the only name mentioned in the one document relating to it, yet in plain fact, one is ignorant of when it was ordered (between 1474 and 1485), when it was finished (surely after 1485), and who worked on it. The critic has practically a free hand, and his opinion is valuable only in proportion to his intimate knowledge of quattrocento bottega practice, and of Verrocchio's own habits. Yet here too Mr. Douglas proceeds so discreetly and with, one feels, such obvious good sense, as to raise little dispute. He points out that Verrocchio submitted drawings for the picture, and assumes that, in spite of Vasari's assertion that Verrocchio had given up painting and of his mistaken attribution of the picture to Credi, Verrocchio must have done a good part of the painting. One feels that he is just in calling Leonardo Verrocchio's "chief assistant at that time," and in arguing that Verrocchio might very well have left the predella entirely to him, and that, consequently, it may have been finished long before the altarpiece itself. Surely, he is right to insist that, with Leonardo in the shop, Verrocchio would never have handed over such a commission to Lorenzo di Credi, who was seven years younger, obviously inferior, and even in 1480 receiving only the salary of a junior apprentice.

He is quite right, indeed, to feel that it is in the direction of an attribution to Credi that he has most to fear for the San Donato panel. Already it has been alleged that in the masks, and in the hump-back crouching posture of the tax collector, there is something strongly reminiscent of Credi's types. Mr. Douglas chooses to refute this suspicion in general, by demonstrating Credi's inferior position, appropriate to his inferior ability. He disposes of the St. John drawing in the Louvre (which Berenson calls Credi's study for the Baptist, "touched" by Verrocchio) with the theory that only the drapery is from the hand of Credi; the underlying nude sketch, with the carefully modeled head, would then be one of Verrocchio's original working drawings for the altarpiece. Of course, the only final answer to this perennial doubt of Credi's intervention (though Mr. Douglas is too fair to emphasize it) is the simple one that everything about this panel is too good for Credi. The painting is exquisite, the colors clear and delicate, and the feeling for the pictorial problems of composition and perspective remarkably acute (as in the Annunciation) for a predella panel. If it be argued that Credi would, after all, have been working from Verrocchio's drawings, one can only reply that he was almost always working from Verrocchio's drawings, and that they were never enough to make him understand the bone in a skull or the free flow of line.

If there is any criticism to be made of Mr. Douglas's discussion at this point, it is on the score of a certain willingness to be content with theory. If he feels it important to consider the Pistoia altarpiece itself, in order to cement the relative positions of Verrocchio, Leonardo, and Credi in that whole affair, would he not profit by a more accurate examination of the picture itself? As it is, his case depends almost wholly on the early date of the painting, which is in turn merely an interpretation of the document. But the picture itself should provide the answer, if we wish to know who painted it. Close study shows clearly such differences as that between the tight, conventional treatment (so characteristic of Credi) of the yet imaginatively designed landscape, and the lovely rich florescence of the orange trees behind the throne or the flower-filled urns. Mr. Douglas suggests that the strong and beautiful painting in the figure of San Donato is Leonardo's; ought he not to be more definite about the limits of Leonardo's work—if only to protect himself from the Leonardo enthusiasts?

Still, one cannot but admire the calm with which Mr. Douglas relates facts and reasonable surmises—avoiding all the hysteria we have come to expect from students of Leonardo. It is especially notable that he can introduce an excellent picture like the San Donato and the Tax Collector without being tempted to overrate Leonardo at the cost of Verrocchio. His interpretation of the work on the Pistoia altarpiece is not definitive; in any problem touching upon Leonardo da Vinci every critic will have his own opinion to the end. Nevertheless, we are now brought nearer firm ground than ever before.

ELIZABETH WILDER

ZARA. *By C. Cecchelli. 205 pp.* URBINO. *By Luigi Serra. 262 pp. In the series, Catalogo delle cose d'arte e d'antichità d'Italia. Rome, Libreria dello stato, 1932.*

Cecchelli's book is a thoroughgoing, very useful, and well illustrated catalogue of all the artistic monuments of Zara, from the smallest to the greatest. A carefully chosen introductory bibliography is supplemented by a full list of references, including photographic material, after each object described. Notes in smaller type, giving state of preservation and a brief archaeological discussion, immediately follow each general description. There is a good index. Unfortunately, no plan of S. Donato is published; in fact, no plans of any sort.

The city is particularly interesting for its architectural monuments, from S. Donato to the Porta Terraferma by Michele Sanmichele. The cathedral, dedicated in 1285, has a crypt of the eleventh rather than the ninth century, to which, however, its baptistery (related to S. Donato) may be assigned. Its most appealing sculpture is a relief of the seventeenth

century; three paintings are the work of Carpaccio. The treasury is exceptionally rich and contains objects from East and West, even from distant centers such as Limoges and Cologne, varying in date from the eleventh through the sixteenth century.

The Benedictine church of S. Maria Minore is a good example of the Venetian type established by S. Maria dei Miracoli; its possessions, again, are many and varied. Textile *paliottos* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are the most striking single items.

The church of S. Simeone owns two statues of saints executed at the turn of the Quattrocento, which are hardly to be equalled by any other sculptures in Zara, as well as a sixteenth century Italo-Byzantine panel of the Madonna which shows how persistent the Eastern tradition was, represented as it is in Zara through the eighteenth century.

The Carolingian church of S. Donato, related to S. Vitale and the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, equipped with three apses and decorated by huge blind arcades and Lombard bands, is now a museum. The various fragments of sculpture in the principal museum merit considerable attention.

Serra's book on Urbino in the same series is equally helpful. The famous ducal palace, the most brilliant parts of which are due to Luciano Laurana, is well and briefly treated.

Serra believes that the church of S. Bernardino, whose cupola resembles that of Bramante's S. Maria delle Grazie in Milan, may have been built by Francesco di Giorgio Martini about 1470. The church of S. Domenico possesses a terracotta tympanum, probably done shortly before 1450, by Luca della Robbia. The severe cathedral bears comparison with S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice; it has among its outstanding paintings a fragment of fresco on which is represented a Madonna and Child in the manner of Pietro Lorenzetti, and an early fifteenth century panel of the Crucifixion in the style of Alberti da Ferrara.

Other monuments in Urbino worth noting are: an unusually fine Good Shepherd figured on a Christian sarcophagus of the third century; frescoes by Nelli and by the two Salimbeni; and the sixteenth century Baroque sculptures of Brandani.

Cecchelli, Serra, and the Italian ministry of education are to be congratulated for having carried out so well these two volumes of a series which promises to be of the greatest usefulness to students. Similar publications are appearing in Germany and France; it is to be hoped that the survey of England by counties may lead to as excellent results, and that a like undertaking may be forthcoming under the new regime in Spain.

F. E. Hyslop, Jr.

Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Volume IX: Sculpture, 1896–1923. *By Franklin P. Johnson. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1931.*

This volume is uniform with the rest of the series and contains the publication, in the form of a catalogue, of the sculptures found at Corinth before 1923 in the excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies. It also includes a few of the more important pieces not found in the excavations of the School.

The description is divided into three parts, entitled *Sculptures Earlier than the Classical Period, The Classical Period*, and *Fourth Century after Christ and Later*. In the first of these sections only three pieces are listed, the most interesting of which is the Mycenaean face (no. 2). The third division contains twelve examples, including the almost unique group of Byzantine statues. The bulk of the sculpture (318 pieces) is grouped in the second section, which has been rather curiously divided into *Sculptures Other than Portraits, Portraits from the "Julian Basilica," Other Portraits, Animals, Attributes, etc., Sculptures from the Stoa of the Colossal Figures, Other Decorative Sculptures, in the Round and in High Relief*, etc., etc. It is unfortunate that the limited number of pieces belonging to the Greek period (e. g. nos. 88, 245, 246, 248, 253, 267, 287, 288) are lost in the mass of copies, imitations, and originals of Roman date. They might well have been gathered into a single group, forming a fourth major division of the catalogue.

In general, the text is excellent. The descriptions are careful and the tracing of replicas and citation of references exhaustive in most instances. In the preface, however, the author, himself, calls attention to a serious defect in the frequent lack of any indication of the places in which the sculptures were found. He says that, "It would be a difficult task to find such indications in the notebooks and to state them in terms which would be clear as applying to the excavated area as it is at present." Granting the difficulty, this task should, nevertheless, have been performed in order to complete the usefulness of an otherwise admirable publication.

There are some minor points which deserve mention. Thus one would like to know what distinction Mr. Johnson makes between the "Doric peplus" (nos. 7, 8, 13) and the "Doric chiton" (nos. 34, 59). In the index the cross-references are incomplete and somewhat arbitrary, while one doubts the usefulness of such a heading as *Heads: crude*, with only a single example. In the list of abbreviations at the beginning of the volume there is an unfortunate inconsistency in the spelling of the titles of German books. In the majority of cases the *umlaut* is retained, but in several instances the form *ae*, *oe*, or *ue* has been used (s. v. *Ath. Mitt.*, *Jb. Arch. I.*, *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.*, *Statuenkopien*). This inconsistency is most noticeable in the full title for the abbreviation *Röm. Mitt.*, where "*archaeologische*" is followed by "*Römische.*" In this case "*Roemische*" is the correct form, since that is the spelling used on the title-page of the periodical. Typographical errors, however, are conspicuous by their absence, the only one noted being "Lepcis" for "Leptis" (p. 23, line 2).

It is, of course, impossible to check omissions from the catalogue without making a careful examination of all the sculptures in the Corinth museum. I did, however, note one such omission. In his discussion of the sarcophagus with the Departure of the Seven Against Thebes (no. 241), Mr. Johnson mentions only two pieces of the lid. When I was in the Corinth museum in 1921, there was a third piece, which came from the right end. (Cf. *A. J. A.*, XXVI, 1922, p. 432.) I have no record of its inventory number, but it measured 0.69 m. by 0.80 m. and preserved a section of the raised molding at the edge of the couch, as well as a fragment of drapery.

The sarcophagus in the National Museum at Athens

(no. 1183), cited by Mr. Johnson as "similar in many respects" to the Corinth sarcophagus, does not correspond as closely as his description would lead one to suppose. The "rough band at the bottom" and the "sculptured bases at the corners" are merely common features of the Greek class of sarcophagi. The "band of leaves" on the Athens example appears only on the front and they are not oak leaves. Moreover, there is an undecorated cymatium immediately above the band of leaves, a feature which is not present in the Corinth sarcophagus, although it is allied to Mr. Johnson's second group of sarcophagi. The unusual feature of a Lesbian cymatium, alone, at the top of the relief field on the end of the Corinth example is not paralleled by the cymatium at Athens, since that is a subsidiary molding above a large egg-and-dart. The relief subject—Bacchic children—is obviously not related to the Corinth figure decoration. Another sarcophagus in the National Museum at Athens (no. 1181), also adorned with Bacchic children, offers a closer parallel to the lower moldings. It also has the corner bases, though carved only with rosettes, and between them a broad, shallow scotia in which is a projecting band of oak leaves on both the front and the right end, just as on the Corinth sarcophagus. The upper moldings of no. 1181 repeat those of no. 1183, with the addition of a bead-and-reel below the egg-and-dart. Such variations in the details of the moldings of the Greek sarcophagi are, however, quite common, so that Mr. Johnson's attempt to group the sarcophagi on the basis of the moldings is, in my opinion, of doubtful value. His first two groups, as he himself says, belong together, while his third group, although unquestionably allied to the others, has little to do with the Corinth sarcophagus.

It is to this third group, not the second as he says, that the Hippolytus sarcophagus in the Hermitage (Robert, *Die antiken Sarcophagreliefs*, III², pl. XLVIII, no. 154) belongs and I cannot agree with him that this is, "so far as the composition and style of the sculptures are concerned, the nearest relative" to the Corinth sarcophagus. The only resemblance is the superficial one of the row of figures across the front of the Hippolytus sarcophagus. These overlap and crowd the field in a composition quite different from the clarity of the Corinth example, while, at the same time, they are taller and more slender in proportion. It should be noted, moreover, that the front and right end of the Hippolytus sarcophagus have been much restored. Closer analogies for the figure style and composition of the Corinth sculptures are to be found in the two groups of sarcophagi first mentioned by Mr. Johnson.

Despite these minor criticisms, this volume on the sculpture is a worthy addition to the Corinth publications and Mr. Johnson is to be congratulated on his careful execution of a difficult task.

J. Donald Young